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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

Proceedings

NEW SERIES, VOL. 29.

APRIL 9, 1919—OCTOBER 15, 1919



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1919

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PROCEEDINGS

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OF THE

GEORGE M. HAYNES

JULIUS H. TUTTLE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN

SOCIETY

Rec'd aug 23-1978

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN

SOCIETY

OF EXCELLENCE

ONE GOAL IS THE VISION

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

GEORGE H. HAYNES

JULIUS H. TUTTLE

JOHN H. EDMONDS

a

THE DAVIS PRESS
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

CONTENTS.

NOTE OF COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION	vii
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY	ix-xxvi

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 9, 1919

PROCEEDINGS	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	7
OBITUARIES	16
THE INCREASING DEBT OF HISTORY TO SCIENCE <i>Archer B. Hulbert</i>	29
SOME PAPERS OF AARON BURR <i>Worthington Chauncey Ford</i>	43
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820 <i>Clarence S. Brigham</i>	129

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 15, 1919

PROCEEDINGS	181
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL With plate of proposed addition	185
OBITUARIES	196
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	199
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	209
GREATER NEW ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY <i>Frederick J. Turner</i>	222
A GENTLEWOMAN OF BOSTON, 1742-1805 <i>Barrett Wendell</i>	242
THE CONCILIATORY PROPOSITION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION OF 1788 <i>George H. Haynes</i>	294

NOTE

The twenty-ninth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 9, and October 15, 1919.

The reports of the Council have been presented by George Hubbard Blakeslee and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Archer Butler Hulbert, Worthington Chauncey Ford, George Henry Haynes, Frederick Jackson Turner and Barrett Wendell.

The volume contains the eleventh installment of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering the States of Ohio, prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Samuel Abbott Green, Samuel Swett Green, William Roscoe Livermore, Henry Ainsworth Parker, Franklin Pierce Rice, Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Dickson White, and Henry Ernest Woods.

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October, 1881.

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April, 1882.

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April, 1884.

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October, 1884.

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April, 1885.

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October, 1885.

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April, 1887.

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April, 1888.

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October, 1888.

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JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., . Framingham, Mass.

October, 1889.

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April, 1890.

HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D., ... Washington, D. C.

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, ... Boston, Mass.

October, 1890.

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April, 1891.

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October, 1891.

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April, 1893

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October, 1893.

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April, 1895.

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April, 1896.

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XIII

October, 1896.

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April, 1897.

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April, 1898.

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April, 1899.

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October, 1899.

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April, 1900.

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October, 1900.

EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B., . . Ware, Mass.
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April, 1901.

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XIV

April, 1902.

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October, 1902.

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ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Ph.D., . . . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1904.

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VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, ... New York, N. Y.

October, 1904.

DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., . . . Boston, Mass.

October, 1905.

CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM, A.M., . . . Worcester, Mass.

WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES, ... Washington, D. C.

October, 1906.

WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, LL.D., . . . St. Louis, Mo.

LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT, ... Worcester, Mass.

April, 1907.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Litt.D., Cambridge, Mass.

October, 1907.

CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, L.H.D. . . . New Haven, Conn.

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April, 1908.

WILLIAM BEER, ... New Orleans, La.

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WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B., . . . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1908.

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October, 1908.

GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE, Ph.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, Ph.D.,	Colorado Springs, Colo.
MAX FARRAND, Ph.D., ...	New Haven, Conn.
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April, 1909.

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October, 1909.

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April, 1910.

GAILLARD HUNT, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, Litt.D.,	New York, N. Y.
BARRETT WENDELL, Litt.D., ...	Boston, Mass.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN, ...	Whitinsville, Mass.

October, 1910.

ALBERT CARLOS BATES, A.M., ...	Hartford, Conn.
GEORGE FRANCIS DOW, ...	Topsfield, Mass.
CHARLES EVANS, ...	Chicago, Ill.
HOMER GAGE, M.D., ...	Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMANN, . . .	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D., .	Princeton, N. J.

April, 1911.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH, L.H.D., . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH.D., . . .	Northampton, Mass.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, LL.D., .	Boston, Mass.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, PH.D., ...	Madison, Wis.
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April, 1912.

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LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.B., ...	Milton, Mass.
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October, 1912.

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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D., . . .	New Haven, Conn.
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., . . .	Williamsburg, Va.

October, 1913.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D., . .	Berkeley, Cal.
REV. HERBERT EDWIN LOMBARD, . . .	Webster, Mass.
BERNARD CHRISTIAN STEINER, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
WOODROW WILSON, LL.D., ...	Washington, D. C.

April, 1914.

HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN, A.B., . . .	Providence, R. I.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, PH.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, LL.B.,	Boston, Mass.
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XVII

October, 1914.

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THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
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April, 1915.

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October, 1915.

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April, 1916.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, A.B.,	Danvers, Mass.
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, B.A.S.,	Milton, Mass.

October, 1916.

SOLOM JUSTUS BUCK, PH.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
WILLIAM LAWRENCE CLEMENTS, B.S.,	Bay City, Mich.
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LAWRENCE PARK,	Groton, Mass.
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON, PH.B.,	Louisville, Ky.

April, 1917.

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ISAAC RAND THOMAS,	Boston, Mass.

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April, 1918.

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October, 1918.

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April, 1919.

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WILLIAM THOMAS, LL.B.,		San Francisco, Cal.

October, 1919.

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April, 1910.

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BOLIVIA.

April, 1910.

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BRAZIL.

April, 1910.

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April, 1919.

MANUEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA . . .	Rio de Janeiro.
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BRITISH GUIANA.

October, 1917.

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April, 1908.

NARCISSE-EUTROPE DIONNE, LL.D., . .	Quebec.
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April, 1910.

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WILLIAM WOOD, D.C.L., ...	Quebec.

October, 1910.

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CHILE.

April, 1909.

JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA, ... Santiago de Chile.

COSTA RICA.

April, 1919.

ANASTASIO ALFARO, ... San José.

FRANCE.

October, 1896.

HENRY VIGNAUD, ... Bagneux, Seine.

October, 1917.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, LL.D., . . . Paris.

April, 1919.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI, ... Paris.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

OTTO KELLER, PH.D., ... Stuttgart.

April, 1893.

JOHANNES CONRAD, LL.D., . . . Halle.

April, 1910.

EDUARD SELER, PH.D., ... Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, D.C.L. . . Sussex.

October, 1892.

CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, LITT.D., . . Oxford.

PAUL VINOGRADOFF, LL.D., . . . Oxford.

October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, ... London.

October, 1901.

SIR ARTHUR HERBERT CHURCH, D.Sc., Shelsley,
Kew Gardens.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, D.Sc., London

October, 1913.

VERE LANGFORD OLIVER, ... Sunninghill.

October, 1915.

RT. HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, LL.D.,
London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH VOLLGRAFF, L.H.D., Utrecht.

HONDURAS.

October, 1917.

ALBERTO MEMBREÑO, ... Tegucigalpa.

MEXICO.

October, 1890.

NICOLÁS LEÓN, PH.D., ... Mexico City.

April, 1907.

GENARO GARCÍA, ... Mexico City.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

ROALD AMUNDSEN, ... Christiania.

PERU.

October, 1912.

FEDERICO ALFONSO PEZET, LL.D., ... Washington, D. C.

PORTUGAL.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, ... Lisbon.

WEST INDIES.

April, 1912.

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SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, PH.D., . . .	Minneapolis, Minn.
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* Signifies life members.

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REUBEN COLTON, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
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GEORGE FRANCIS DOW,	Topsfield, Mass.
FRANK FARNUM DRESSER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
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WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HENRY EDMONDS,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, A. B.	Danvers, Mass.
CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
MAX FARRAND, Ph.D.,*	New Haven, Conn.
JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL, Litt.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
JESSE WALTER FEWKES, Ph.D.,	Washington, D. C.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, Ph.D.,	Madison, Wis.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B.	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Litt.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, Litt.D.,*	Providence, R. I.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, LL.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE ANTHONY GASKILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B.,	Ware, Mass.
RICHARD WARD GREENE,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, LL.B.,	Brookline, Mass.

EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B.,	Dayton, Ohio.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M.,	San Juan, Porto Rico.
OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN,*	New York, N. Y.
IRA NELSON HOLLIS, SC.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, LITT.D.,	New York, N. Y.
HENRY EDWARDS HUNTINGTON	New York, N. Y.
JAMES ALTON JAMES, PH.D.,	Evanston, Ill.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, A.B.,*	Salem, Mass.
REV. HENRY FITCH JENKS, A.M.	Canton, Mass.
CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, LL.B.,	Hyde Park, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN WOOLF JORDAN, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ROBERT HENDRE KELBY	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, B.A.S.,*	Milton, Mass.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,*	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, PH.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HOLLADAY LATANE, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
JOHN THOMAS LEE,	Madison, Wis.
FREDERICK WILLIAM LEHMANN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,*	Nahant, Mass.
REV. HERBERT EDWIN LOMBARD,*	Webster, Mass.
ARTHUR LORD, A.B.,	Plymouth, Mass.
JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,*	Paris, France.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M.,	Walla Walla, Wash.
ALEXANDER GEORGE MCADIE, A.M.,	Milton, Mass.
SAMUEL WALKER MCCALL, LL.D.,	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D.,	Berkeley, Cal.
LEONARD LEOPOLD MACKALL, A.B.,	New York, N. Y.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM MCLAUGHLIN, A.M.,	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH MCMASTER, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D.,	Ravenna, Ohio.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A. B.,	Framingham, Mass.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, PH.D.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, A.B.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, PH.D.*	Concord, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, SC.D.,	Salem; Mass.
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D.,	Providence, R. I.
SAMUEL LYMAN MUNSON,	Albany, N. Y.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., LITT.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, LL.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS MCADORY OWEN, LL.D.,	Montgomery, Ala.
WILLIAM PENDLETON PALMER,	Cleveland, Ohio.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,	New York, N. Y.
REV. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.
LAWRENCE PARK,*	Groton, Mass.
GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
MILO MILTON QUAIFFE, PH.D.,	Madison, Wis.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR.,	Columbia, S. C.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE,	New York, N. Y.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D.,	Intervale, N. H.
HAROLD MARSH SEWALL, LL.B.,	Bath, Me.
ALBERT SHAW, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.

ROBERT KENDALL SHAW, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D., . . .	Princeton, N. J.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B.,* . . .	Framingham, Mass.
BERNARD CHRISTIAN STEINER, PH.D., . . .	Baltimore, Md.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D., . . .	New York, N. Y.
ISAAC NEWTON PHELPS STOKES, A.B., . . .	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D., . . .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, JR.,* . . .	Boston, Mass.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D., ...	Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M., ...	Haverford, Pa.
ISAAC RAND THOMAS,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM THOMAS, LL.B., ...	San Francisco, Cal.
EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON, ...	Cambridge, Mass.
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON, PH.B., . . .	Louisville, Ky.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., ...	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., ...	Cambridge, Mass.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,*	Dedham, Mass.
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., ...	Williamsburg, Va.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., ...	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., ...	Worcester, Mass.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D., ...	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., ...	Worcester, Mass.
REV. HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN, D.D., ...	Cambridge, Mass.
BARRETT WENDELL, LITT.D., ...	Boston, Mass.
LEONARD WHEELER, M.D., ...	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN	Whitinsville Mass.
WOODROW WILSON, LL.D., ...	Washington, D. C.
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, LITT.D.,*	Dover, Mass.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, ...	Boston, Mass.
JOHN WOODBURY, A.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D., ...	Worcester, Mass.

PROCEEDINGS

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 9, 1919, IN THE HOUSE OF
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The semi-annual meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, April 9, 1919, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The meeting was called to order at half-past ten o'clock, President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present:

Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Frederick Jackson Turner, Edward Luther Stevenson, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Wilfred Harold Munro, Justin Harvey Smith, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Archer Butler Hulbert, Howard Millar Chapin, Grenville Howland Norcross, John Whittemore Farwell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, William Crowninshield Endicott, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, Richard Ward Greene, John Woodbury, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson.

The call for the meeting having been read, Mr. Norcross moved that the reading of the records of the last meeting be dispensed with.

The report of the Council, prepared by Mr. George H. Blakeslee and relating chiefly to the recent development of interests in Latin America, was read and approved.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. Winship referred to the collections of Spanish American literature and called attention to the distinction between the historical, the bibliographical, and the linguistic aspects of the subject. For the purposes of students of language, Mr. William E. Gates of Point Loma, California, possesses what is probably both the most extensive and the most intelligently selected collection of manuscript material illustrating the dialects in use by the native tribes occupying the territory of what is now the Mexican Republic. He has been able to secure a large proportion of the original manuscripts, as well as the printed works, that have come to market in the auction room or through private channels during the last two decades, and he has supplemented these by obtaining photographic-process copies of nearly all the important documents which are in public repositories. In a spirit of generous scholarly co-operation, Mr. Gates has made it possible for other collections to secure duplicates of his copies at the cost of production. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, whose library is now at the University of Pennsylvania, anticipated Mr. Gates both in scheme and scope, but the hand-written copies upon which he had to rely are so frequently untrustworthy that they have already taken their place as historical illustrations of the handicaps against which science formerly struggled.

The two leading public institutions in this field are the Bureau of Ethnology, which is supplemented by the material in the Library of Congress, at Washing-

ton, and the Peabody Museum Library at Harvard. At the latter Dr. Charles P. Bowditch of this Society has rendered important service in securing reproductions of manuscripts throwing light upon Maya problems. The Peabody Museum also possesses the material collected by Bandelier while he was engaged on the work of the Hemenway Expeditions, seeking in old Mexico the clue to the story of the New Mexican ruins.

The John Carter Brown Library and the Lenox Library have long been rivals, so far as the earlier printed books are concerned, in this as in kindred fields. The former probably secured a lead when Mr. Brown purchased the linguistic library of Dr. Nicolas Leon, a corresponding member of this Society. The library collected by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, dealing with language in a broad sense, is said to be the nearest competitor abroad.

The student of Spanish American history will find the material he needs scattered among several institutions, each developing a particular aspect of the subject. The Bureau of American Republics presumably has most of the twentieth century publications, especially those dealing with social and economic phases. The John Carter Brown Library has a commanding position for those printed before 1800, having added largely to its collections since the check-list printed ten years ago. Harvard, Yale, and the John Carter Brown libraries had at one time a working agreement by which the two Universities left the older and more costly books to the Providence library, and divided the later field, Yale specializing on Peru and the northern countries of South America, and Harvard on Chili and the South. Mr. Coolidge's purchase of the Luis Montt library at Santiago de Chile and Mr. Bingham's personal collection on Bolivia and Peru established the strength of the two universities in these respective fields. Yale added Mexico when Mr.

Henry E. Wagner presented the books which he had collected during his residence in that country. The John Carter Brown Library has an important group of Peruvian publications dated between 1800 and 1840, which were made accessible by the hand-list printed in 1908. The Hispanic Society of America has not neglected the Spanish colonies, but these have not as yet received the comprehensive attention with which Mr. Huntington has devoted himself to the literature and art of the Peninsula. In Chicago the Newberry Library has Mr. Edward E. Ayer's collection of books on the American Indian, which contains many important early works. The H. H. Bancroft collection gave the University of California a good start in the way of Mexican books, and both at Berkeley and at Stanford efforts have been made to emphasize the importance of all the countries bordering on the Pacific.

The election of members, resident and foreign, being next in order, the President appointed Messrs. Cunningham, Norcross and Edmonds, as the committee to collect and count the ballots. The committee reported the following persons elected to membership:

RESIDENT MEMBERS

James Alton James, Evanston, Ill.
Frederick William Lehmann, St. Louis, Mo.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, Cambridge, Mass.
Harold Marsh Sewall, Bath, Me.
Robert Kendall Shaw, Worcester, Mass.
William Roscoe Thayer, Cambridge, Mass.
William Thomas, San Francisco, Calif.

FOREIGN MEMBERS

Anastasio Alfaro, San José, Costa Rica.
Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
Seymour de Ricci, Paris, France.

The President stated that a fellowship in American History had been established at Clark University through the generosity of members of this Society and would continue for two years. He also called attention to the new bookplates of the Society, the gift of our associate Grenville H. Norcross.

The first paper was read by Archer B. Hulbert formerly of Marietta, Ohio, but now residing in Worcester, on "The Increasing Debt of History to Science."

In the discussion following, Mr. McAdie spoke of the value of science in proving and correlating the facts of history. Astronomy in particular, he said, is of importance in certifying the dates of events by eclipses and other observed phenomena—the character of the weather, the prevailing tides and winds have also been used for verification of the facts of history. He exhibited a chart of the life history of a Sequoia tree in the state of Washington, cut down in 1864, which showed the effects of varying weather and other natural phenomena—during its 1244 years of growth. He deduced from study of this chart that the amount of rainfall and sunshine since the Spanish conquest is about the same as at the present day.

Professor Turner remarked that a hyphen between history and the various sciences has a much more legitimate place than that used between nations. He then drew attention to the effect in our own country of the various geological formations and varying quality of soils upon the development of communities and even relation to the politics and the prosperity of such communities.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Lombard, whose paper was to have been presented at this meeting, the Librarian spoke briefly upon the bookplates of the Presidents of the United States in our collection. The President announced that the paper might be

presented at a subsequent meeting and called attention to a volume containing a genuine George Washington bookplate—belonging to Mr. John Woodbury—which he had been requested to exhibit at the meeting.

Mr. Ford then read an interesting paper with extracts, on "Some Papers of Aaron Burr."

The members of the Society were invited by Mr. William C. Endicott to luncheon at his residence, No. 163 Marlborough Street, at the close of the meeting.

No further business being presented, the meeting was then dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,

Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

In previous reports the Council has pointed out from time to time the importance of various special collections in our Library. It takes the present occasion to call attention to the number and the value of the books, pamphlets and newspapers on Latin American and Caribbean countries.

A striking increase of interest in Latin America has been taking place in this country during the past decade, which was particularly noticeable just before our thoughts and energies were absorbed in the world war. This interest has been shown in many ways, and may be measured in part by definite figures. The leading newspapers in the United States, for example, according to the reports of the statisticians in the Pan American Union, gave more news space to Latin America in a single month of 1915 than the same papers gave in the thirty-six months of 1907, 1908 and 1909; our magazines had more articles on Latin America in the first three months of 1916 than in the five years from 1907 to 1912; while more books dealing with Latin America were published in this country in 1914 than in the entire period from 1906 to 1910. In a bibliography, 1916, of the two hundred best volumes on South America, it appears that seven-eighths of them were published within the previous five years.

This increased interest appeared in many other ways. There were over seventeen hundred clubs in the United States, before the war, making a study of Latin America and Pan American relations; while three thousand moving picture theatres, it was estimated, were every week showing to American

audiences the people, the scenery, and the life of the republics of South America. At that time Director General John Barrett stated that the Pan American Union was then receiving on an average between two hundred and three hundred letters a day asking for information on Latin American affairs, and added that it was not unusual to have as many as twenty-five cablegrams a day from Latin America, making various inquiries concerning the United States. About the same time the United States Bureau of Commerce, according to statements in the press, was receiving a daily average of eight hundred letters from all parts of the country regarding trade openings and economic conditions throughout the Latin American world.

Now that the war is over, public attention is again being turned to the Republics to the south of us, as is evident from the newspaper space given to Latin America; for example, regular sections are being devoted to South America in such dailies as the *New York Sun* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Our commercial and financial relations, too, are more intimate than ever before. During the war, and in part on account of it, the United States has secured almost a monopoly of Latin American exports and imports. While in 1914 there was not a single branch of a United States or North American bank in any city south of Panama, today every important South American city has at least one North American bank. In 1914 no South American newspaper received Associated Press news; now the most important South American dailies are supplied regularly and directly with our Associated Press despatches. A rapidly increasing number of periodicals in this country deal with Latin American affairs. Besides the official *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union may be mentioned the *South American*; the *Pan American Review*, *The Americas*, *Inter-America*, *El Estudiante Latino-Americano*, published for Latin American students in the United States, and the recently established *Hispanic*

American Historical Review, a scholarly quarterly, worthy to rank in its special field with the ablest publications in this country.

The appearance of the last two magazines shows that the marked increase of interest in Latin America, which is fundamentally due to economic and financial considerations, is not limited to these fields, nor to official Pan Americanism, but is extending to education and letters. This is seen most strikingly in the teaching of Spanish. Ten or twelve years ago very few colleges and almost no secondary schools taught Spanish; now nearly all universities, colleges and higher institutions in the United States as well as over two thousand secondary schools teach Spanish, while a few institutions teach Portuguese. But of greater significance is the remarkable increase in our colleges and universities, during the past half dozen years and a little more, of new courses on the history, commerce, culture and international relations of the States to the south of us. Exchanges of professors have been already carried out by a number of the larger institutions, including Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania, while plans are being made for extending these exchanges to the smaller colleges and universities which will arrange for short lecture courses from some distinguished Latin American scholar. Our colleges, universities and technical schools have also shown a genuine desire to attract Latin American students; some fifty of our higher institutions have offered one or more tuition scholarships for Latin Americans, while a few have established money fellowships, and one has founded a \$500 Latin American fellowship for graduate work.

Latin America, on its side, has shown a growing appreciation of educational Pan Americanism. There are a larger number of Latin American students in the United States than ever before; so many in fact that they have recently founded a Federation of Latin American students with branches in a number of our

colleges and universities. To attract and aid students from the lands to the south of us the Pan American Union has recently established a Section of Education. In its last report it states that a number of the foremost Latin American professors are willing to give occasional lecture courses in North American universities. Dr. Ernesto Nelson, Professor in La Plata University, and recently Minister of Education in Argentina, has pointed out that since Latin America has no educational or literary center, this can be best established in the United States, where Latin Americans may come to study the collected literature of all the Latin American countries. He makes a strong plea that some library in this country should collect all Latin American literary and scientific works. There is no such educational or literary center in Latin America, nor does one seem likely to develop. The only probable rival to the United States is France.

Of especial significance for those interested in collections of Hispanic Americana is the recent action of the Association of American University Professors in organizing a large committee, representing some sixteen of our Universities, to promote exchange professorships between the United States and Latin America; the establishment of exchange fellowships; and scientific co-operation between the professors and the universities of the United States and those of Latin America. Some of our professors have already begun co-operation with professors in Latin America, while others are planning to do so in the near future. It has been suggested that a history of all the American republics be written by the joint work of Spanish, Portuguese and American historians.

It is evident that the interest in Pan Americanism, which from merely popular, economic and diplomatic fields has now reached the domain of education and of genuine scholarship, will soon make a greatly increased demand for library material dealing with Latin America. In fact, this demand is already being felt.

To what extent American scholars in history, international relations and international politics are already turning to Latin American subjects, cannot be stated statistically, but it may be mentioned as a mere indication of this trend that during the past five years in Clark University, two Doctors' dissertations and seven Masters' theses have been written upon phases of Latin America and its relations to the United States.

It is very natural therefore that attention is now being directed to the value of special collections of Hispanic Americana.¹ There appeared in the last number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* an article upon the Latin American collection in the Library of Congress. The increase in this collection may be judged from the fact that the number of books and pamphlets in the strictly historical section alone, has grown from 3,893 in 1901, to 15,116 in 1918. But the Library of Congress arrived late in the field, and its collection, while excellent in material published during the past half century, and strong in European Americana dealing with the early period, is "not preeminent in primary sources, original and rare editions." The Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union has a large collection which contains 40,000 volumes and pamphlets, 21,000 photographs, 1500 maps, and 1300 Latin American newspapers, magazines and other publications. But the value of this Library is very largely in the material of the past few decades.

Among other libraries which are emphasizing their Latin American collections, should be mentioned that at Yale University which, under the guidance of Professor Hiram Bingham, has secured probably the best single collection of South American material in this country; the New York Public Library, with the

¹The April 1919 issue of the "Library Journal" is devoted chiefly to the subject of Latin American libraries. It describes, with illustrations, the national libraries at Buenos Aires, Mexico and Santiago de Chile, and gives sketches of the collections in eight American libraries.

largest manuscript material relating to the colonial times; the Harvard University Library, with an excellent general collection; the John Carter Brown Library, with many manuscripts and early printed books, particularly dealing with exploration and discovery; the important collections of the Hispanic Society, and of Mr. Wm. E. Gates in California; and the large private library of Dr. Manuel de Oliveira Lima, of Brazil, which is soon to be placed, under Dr. Lima's supervision, in the Catholic University of America at Washington.

It is a pleasure to know that the American Antiquarian Society has a collection on Latin America which ranks well with those in other important libraries. Our Librarian states that we have probably a larger collection of Hispanic American imprints for the early period than can be found elsewhere in this country. It comprises about 700 examples of printing from 1555 to 1800, chiefly of Mexico City and Puebla, but with many from Guatemala and a few from Lima and other South American towns.

While the printing press was introduced into Mexico about 1539, it was difficult to publish in the Spanish colonies, due especially to the strict enforcement of both civil and ecclesiastical censorship. Books printed in Latin America therefore, in the early period, aside from such works as catechisms and linguistic material, were few in number, and are now rare. Our collection is thus of especial value and should be particularly featured, since no other library has apparently covered this field so extensively, and since it is in line with our notable collection of early American imprints.

The foundation of the fund for Hispanic Americana was laid by Isaac Davis, who in 1868 gave to the Society \$500, the income of which was "to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States." With a subsequent gift

of \$1,000 from Isaac Davis, and gifts of \$5,000 in 1891, and \$5,000 in 1910 from Edward L. Davis, together with accrued income, the fund now amounts to \$23,000. The scope of the fund was later enlarged to admit of the purchases of works relating to South America, and, in 1910, at the suggestion of Edward L. Davis, the Society was allowed to spend the income for general purposes of the Society, if any part of it was not required for the original object of the fund.

Another source of additions to the collection of Hispanic Americana were the frequent gifts of books from Stephen Salisbury, Jr. From the days of his college friendship for David Casares, of Merida, Yucatan, Mr. Salisbury always evinced a decided interest in the archaeology and history of Central America and some of the rarest of our early works on this subject were presented by him.

Today the Hispanic American collection numbers over 4500 books and pamphlets, mostly of the early period. There has been little attempt to secure the material of the last fifty years except as it may throw light upon the older literature.

Of the bibliographical works the Society has a large collection including nearly all of the valuable monographs compiled by J. T. Medina of Santiago de Chile, and the bibliographies of Viñaza, Montt, Trelles, Leclerc, Leon, Beristain, Garraux, Andrade, Icazbalceta, and other workers in this field.

The narratives of the early voyagers, travellers and commentators are well represented, including original editions of Acosta, Bézoni, Las Casas, Dampier, Drake, Hakluyt, Herrera, Laet, Linschoten, Martyr, Oviedo and La Vega. In consideration of the greatly increased values of most of these editions, it is fortunate that they were obtained for the Library a number of years ago.

The source-books for the study of linguistics have been almost all obtained in the last ten years, chiefly through the aid of Miss Alice W. Kurtz, who has

travelled throughout Mexico and Guatemala acquiring these rare volumes from monastic and private libraries. The *artes*, *confesionarios*, and *vocabularios* published from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries include:

Molina, Vocabulario en la Lengua Castellana y Mexicana, Mexico, 1555.

Molina, Confessionario Mayor, Mexico, 1565.

Molina, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana y Castellana, Mexico, 1571.

Lorra Baquio, Manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1634.

Carochi, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Mexico, 1645.

Marban, Arte de la Lengua Moxa, Lima, 1702.

Perez, Farol Indiano, Mexico, 1713.

Avila, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Mexico, 1717.

Perez, Catecismo Romano, Mexico, 1723.

Gastelu, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Puebla, 1726.

Serra, Manual de administrar los Sacramentos, Mexico, 1731.

Quintana, Confessionario en Lengua Mixe, Puebla, 1733.

Rinaldini, Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana, Mexico, 1743.

Flores, Arte de la Lengua Metropolitana, Guatemala, 1753.

Torres, Arte de la Lengua Quichua, Lima, 1754.

Ripalda, Catecismo Mexicano, Mexico, 1758.

Paredes, Promptuario manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1759.

Aguirre, Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Opata, Mexico, 1765.

Febres, Arte de la Lengua Chileno, Lima, 1765.

Moreno, Vida del Vasco de Quiroga, Mexico, 1766.

Tapia Zenteno, Noticia de la Lengua Huasteca, Mexico, 1767.

Arenas, Vocabulario Manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana, Puebla, 1793.

The collection of Mexican, South American and West Indian newspapers has been given especial

attention, and most of the longer files have been noted in the Librarian's Reports of the past ten years. This has been chiefly strengthened by the purchase of a large number of South American newspapers in 1915, of numerous Mexican and Guatemalan files from Miss Kurtz, and by the acquisitions made by the President of the Society on a trip to the West Indies in 1913.

The value of this collection has inspired several gifts of importance. During the past winter Mrs. F. Spencer Wigley of St. Christopher visited the Library and as a result presented us with the rare "Laws of the Island of St. Christopher" printed in the Island in 1791, a valuable example of West Indian printing. Also within the past month the Society has purchased the London 1739 edition of the Acts of the Island of St. Christopher, and the 1740 edition of the Acts of the Charibbee Leeward Islands.

In closing its report the Council would call attention to the following somewhat unusually large number of deaths among the members:—

Andrew Dickson White (elected 1884) died November 4, 1918.

Samuel Abbott Green (elected 1865) died December 5, 1918.

Samuel Swett Green (elected 1880) died December 8, 1918.

Franklin Pierce Rice (elected 1906) died January 4, 1919.

Theodore Roosevelt (elected 1918) died January 6, 1919.

Henry Ainsworth Parker (elected 1910) died February 17, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Abbott Green and Mr. Samuel Swett Green were the senior members of the Society.

Biographical notices will be prepared to be published in the Proceedings.

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN

Dr. Samuel Abbott Green died in Boston, on December 5, 1918, in the 89th year of his age. He was the son of Dr. Joshua Green and Eliza Lawrence Green. He was born in Groton on March 16, 1830, and always lived there for part of the year. He fitted for college at Groton Academy and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1851, of which he was the last surviving member. He was graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1854. He continued his medical studies in Paris, and then returned to Boston to practice his profession.

On May 19, 1858, he was commissioned surgeon of the 2d Massachusetts militia regiment by Governor Banks. On the breaking out of the Civil war he entered the service as assistant surgeon of the 1st Massachusetts regiment and was the first medical officer of the state to be mustered into the three years' service. He was promoted to be surgeon of the 24th Massachusetts regiment, September 2, 1861, and had charge of the hospital ship *Recruit* in General Burnside's expedition to North Carolina, and later of the hospital steamer *Cosmopolitan* on the coast of South Carolina. He was chief medical officer at Morris Island during the siege of Fort Wagner in the summer of 1863, and was post surgeon at St. Augustine, Fla., in October, 1863, and at Jacksonville in March, 1864. He was with the army at the capture of Bermuda Hundred in May, 1864, and was acting staff surgeon in Richmond, for three months following the surrender of that city in April, 1865. In 1864 he was breveted lieutenant-colonel for "gallant and distinguished services in the field."

Upon his return to Boston in 1865, Doctor Green became superintendent of the Boston dispensary. In 1871 he was appointed city physician and filled that office until he was elected mayor in 1882. He had been a member of the school board, 1860-62 and 1866-72, trustee of the Boston Public Library 1868-78, and acting librarian from October, 1877, to October, 1878. He was a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund.

Doctor Green was overseer of Harvard University from 1869 to 1880. In 1870 he was appointed by Governor Claflin one of a commission to care for disabled soldiers. In 1878 he was a member of the board of experts authorized by Congress to investigate the causes and prevention of yellow fever, and a member of the board of commissioners to investigate the condition of the records, files, papers, and documents in the State department of Massachusetts. From 1871 to 1891 he was also one of the editors of the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

Doctor Green had written many books and pamphlets, among them: "My Campaign in America, a Journal kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-81, translated from the French manuscript, with and introduction and notes;" "The story of a Famous Book;" an account of Dr. Benjamin Franklin's autobiography; "School Histories and Some Errors in Them;" "Epitaphs from the old Burying Ground in Groton;" "Early Records of Groton, 1662-1678;" "History of Medicine in Massachusetts;" "Groton during the Indians Wars;" "Groton During the Witchcraft Times;" "Boundary Lines of old Groton;" "The Geography of Groton," prepared for the use of the Appalachian mountain club; "Groton Historical Series," three volumes; "An Account of the Physicians and Dentists of Groton;" "An Account of the Lawyers of Groton;" "The Career of Benjamin Franklin," a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, May 25, 1893, on the 150th anniversary of its foundation; "An Address

before the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell;" "An Account of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society;" a "List of the Early American Imprints" in the library of that society; and "An Historical Sketch of Groton, 1655-1890."

In May, 1896, the University of Nashville conferred on Doctor Green the honorary degree of LL.D.

He was for nineteen years first vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and librarian at the time of his death. He was a constant attendant at the meetings, even when his physical disability was so great that he was brought into the room in a wheel-chair, which was always placed on the left of the presiding officer. Doctor Green was elected a member of this Society in 1865, was a member of the council from 1874 until 1904, when he was elected vice-president. The last meeting of the council that he attended was in 1911.

Doctor Green's life was most unusual, exhibiting in a high degree great industry, a prodigious capacity for work, and conspicuous service in many varied fields of activity. He will long remain in the memory of his associates, who will miss the companionship, now ended, of so many years.

C. G. W.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN

Samuel Swett Green, son of James and Elizabeth (Swett) Green of Worcester, was descended in the eighth generation from Thomas Green, who settled in Malden about the middle of the seventeenth century. He was born in Worcester, February 20, 1837, and died there December 28, 1918. Entering Harvard College at the age of seventeen, he was graduated in the Class of 1858, and immediately entered the Harvard Divinity School, but his health failing he was obliged to give up study temporarily, and took a sea

voyage on a sailing vessel to the Levant, visiting Smyrna and Constantinople. Returning home he re-entered the Divinity School in September, 1861, and was graduated in 1864, intending to become a Unitarian minister. Partly by reason of his health and partly because he found that his religious views were too advanced for the times, he abandoned preaching and entered the Mechanics National Bank as bookkeeper in December, 1864. The following year he was made teller in the Worcester National Bank, which position he held until May, 1868, and in January, 1871, he was called to his life work as librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library, in which position he made for himself and the library a world wide reputation for progress and efficiency.

This was due largely to the simple application of the principle that books are made for the use of those desiring information and instruction, and that all such are to have every facility for study supplied to them. The old idea that a librarian's duties should be principally confined to the safe preservation of his books was no longer to rule. Students were welcomed, the whole working force of the library was at their service, and desired books, if not in the library were either purchased or borrowed. Particular attention was paid to the requirements of young people, and both the teachers and the students of the public and private schools of the city, were encouraged in their use of the library. The success accompanying this method of library work attracted general attention among educators as well as librarians, and the example set in Worcester was followed by most libraries in this country and by several in Europe.

In 1890 Mr. Green was appointed an original member of the Free Public Library Commission of this Commonwealth, and held the office by successive appointments until 1909. He was one of the founders of the American Library Association, of which he was vice-president 1887-1889 and 1892-1893, and president

in 1891; founder and first vice-president of the Massachusetts Library Club; member of the American Library Institute; and honorary fellow of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. He was delegate to the International Congress of Librarians at London in 1877 and a member of its council, vice-president of a similar congress in 1897, and in 1893 presided over the World's Congress of Librarians at Chicago.

He was a member of many historical societies and associations, the most important being the Royal Historical Society, the American Historical Association, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the American Social Science Association, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. He was trustee of Leicester Academy and belonged to several social clubs both in Boston and Worcester.

He was elected to membership in this society in April, 1880, and in 1883 was made a member of the Council of which he continued to be a member until a month before his death. During all of this long period he was, until the last few years when advancing age and failing eyesight impaired his activities, a constant attendant of the meetings of the Society, a frequent participant in its debates and contributor to its Proceedings, and a valued and useful member of the Council. He prepared several Council reports, many memoirs and obituary notices of deceased members, and eight papers for the Proceedings, the most important subjects treated by him being:—"Gleanings from the Sources of the History of the Second Parish, Worcester;" "The Use of the Voluntary System in the Maintenance of Ministers in the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay;" "The Scotch-Irish in America;" and "The Craigie House, Cambridge, during its Occupancy by Andrew Craigie and his Widow." In connection with his library work he published: "Libraries and Schools;"

"Library Aids;" and "The Public Library Movement in the United States, 1853-1893."

In 1909, his eyesight failing he retired from active work at the library and was made librarian emeritus. He devoted the remainder of his life to study, especially interesting himself in British archæology, but continuing his interest in all the lines which had previously engaged his attention and making a daily visit to the library until a few months before his death.

W. L.

HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER

Henry Ainsworth Parker was born in Philadelphia, October, 19, 1841, the son of William Ainsworth and Mary (Iddings) Parker. He was graduated from Harvard with the Class of 1864 and then entered the General Theological Seminary in New York. After four years spent in preparing for the ministry and in tutoring private pupils, he took charge of the Parish of St. Luke at Philadelphia in 1871. In 1875 he became rector of Christ Church at North Conway, N. H., where he remained until 1886. He then removed to Cambridge, Mass., where he lived until his death, holding religious service in various places as his help was required, and pursuing studies in theology and history. He was married December 6, 1870, to Mary, daughter of Rev. Samuel Seabury of New York, and had five children. His death occurred February 17, 1919.

Rev. Mr. Parker was much interested in historical research and was an occasional contributor to the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of which he was one of the earliest members. He was elected to the Antiquarian Society in 1910, and showed his interest by his frequent attendance at the meetings and by the gift of historical books and pamphlets to the Library.

C. S. B.

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE

Franklin Pierce Rice was born in Marlborough, Mass., July 29, 1852. His family moved to Worcester in 1856 and he was educated in the public schools of this city. He did not enter college, but began soon after leaving the High School the study of the sciences and the elements of medicine in order to prepare for the medical profession which he had chosen as his life work. The long illness of his father and the consequent care of the home which devolved upon him prevented the fulfilment of this plan. After ten years of expectation and recurring hope, he relinquished this cherished object, but the training gained through these waiting years gave him the strong interest in the scientific and literary fields which governed his later life.

In 1871 he purchased a small press and a few pounds of type and without an hour's instruction from any member of the craft either at that time or later, he began printing as an avocation and accomplished during his life more than has been recorded of many who made a business of this art. A catalogue of his imprints issued in 1915 gives a list of 122 titles of books which came from his press as well as 50 others which he compiled or edited to be printed elsewhere.

His early life was influenced by a radical or liberal movement which started in Worcester in the year 1868, but he finally outgrew it and its evil effects were overcome by the influence of two friends, the Rev. George Allen, a refined literary character with strong antiquarian taste, and Hon. Eli Thayer, whose robust manhood and virile Americanism drew out of Mr. Rice all that was best in him. These men remained his firm friends during their lives and his obligation to them was shown in the memoirs prepared by him in later years.

He was one of the four founders of the Worcester Society of Antiquity and it is significant of his character that at the initial meeting he urged, in place of that

title, the name of The Worcester Historical Society, as it is now called, in order to avoid interference with the older society, a fact which has more than once caused embarrassment to each organization. For twenty years, not only was he active in that society as a member, but from 1879 to 1895 he printed its proceedings. His attention was early attracted to the desirability of taking some action for the preservation of the vital records of our New England towns and in 1879 he printed the first volume of the Town Records of Worcester, seven volumes of these records coming from his press before 1895. In order to carry on this important work more effectively he started in 1892 the Massachusetts Record Society and printed two volumes of the New England Town Series. This plan not proving efficient he formed in 1898 the Systematic History Fund and in the next four years he printed seven volumes of Massachusetts Town Records. In 1902 he was induced to transfer his energies in this line to the same work under the State Vital Records Act of that year and under which he worked for nine years. More than forty volumes have been published by him in this field but not printed on his press. This part of his life work will prove of increasing importance as these records are used, because his extreme accuracy and his broad historical knowledge were both employed to verify each one of the data collected.

In October, 1906, Mr. Rice was elected a member of this Society and from that time until his decease on January 4, 1919, he was chairman of the Committee of Publication to which office he brought all of his personal interest and large experience as a printer and a man of letters. The debt of this Society to him is very great, not only because of the burden which he bore but because of the elevation of the standard of our publications in consequence of his unremitting labors. For many years it had been his custom to cut from the daily papers items of biographical and historical interest and obituary notices of national or local

importance. This material, consisting of more than 20,000 clippings and arranged in such form as to make it always accessible, he presented to the Society in 1917. The gift was a very valuable addition to our archives as it supplemented the collection of William Jennison along similar lines but of an earlier generation.

Quiet in manner and self-contained Mr. Rice was thought by some to be almost eccentric, although this was far from the truth. While the many vicissitudes of his life caused a sensitive nature to withdraw somewhat within himself, to his friends Mr. Rice showed a warm heart and a staunch loyalty, which appealed to them as strongly as his literary and historical ability attracted all others who came to know him.

C. L. N.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt—born October 27, 1858, died January 6, 1919—was elected a member of this Society in April, 1918. What is said of him here will relate exclusively to his work as a writer of American history, although, as is well known, this forms but a small part of his contribution to literature, and great as his accomplishments have been in the broader field, they were only a part of his prodigious activities.

His first history was the first book he wrote, "The Naval War of 1812," in 1882, when he was twenty-four years old. In 1886 he wrote the "Life of Thomas H. Benton," in 1888, "Gouverneur Morris," and in 1889, "The Winning of the West." In November, 1890, he published "New York," a history of the City; and in April, 1895, in conjunction with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Hero Tales from American History." While Governor of New York, he published "The Rough Riders, a history of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, in the war with Spain," and in 1913 his Autobiography.

In the "Naval War of 1812", Roosevelt began to preach the doctrine of which he was the aggressive champion all his life:—

That a miserly economy in preparation (for war) may in the end involve a lavish outlay of men and money, which, after all, comes too late to more than partially offset the evils produced by the original short-sighted parsimony.

Roosevelt admired Benton as the man who stood by the nation against his own section and refused to abandon his principles.

"The Winning of the West" is by far his most important work, and the one which will determine his place as an historian. He was no doubt led to write it because of his experience on the frontier. He says in the preface:—

In conclusion, I would say that it has been to me emphatically a labor of love to write of the great deeds of the border people. I am not blind to their manifold shortcomings, nor yet am I ignorant of their many strong and good qualities. For a number of years I spent most of my time on the frontier, and lived and worked like any other frontiersman. The wild country in which we dwelt and across which we wandered was in the Far West; and there were, of course, many features in which the life of a cattleman on the great plains and among the Rockies differed from that led by a backwoodsman in the Alleghany forests a century before. Yet the points of resemblance were far more numerous and striking. We guarded our herds of branded cattle and shaggy horses, hunted bear, bison, elk, and deer, established civil government, and put down evildoers, white and red, on the banks of the Little Missouri, and among the wooded, precipitous foothills of the Bighorn, exactly as did the pioneers who a hundred years previously built their log cabins beside the Kentucky or in the valleys of the Great Smokies. The men who have shared in the fast vanishing frontier life of the present feel a peculiar sympathy with the already long vanished frontier life of the past.

In the history of the City of New York, appears the same intense Americanism which he constantly preached so vigorously to the very end of his life. In this book, written nearly thirty years ago, he said:

Above all, the one essential for success in every political movement which is to do lasting good, is that our citizens should act as Americans; not as Americans with a prefix and qualification—not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Native-Americans—but as Americans pure and simple.

To "Hero Tales from American History," written in conjunction with Senator Lodge, Roosevelt contributed: Daniel Boone and the Founding of Kentucky; George Rogers Clark and the Conquest of the Northwest; King's Mountain; The Storming of Stony Point; The Cruise of the *Wasp*; The *General Armstrong* Privateer; The Battle of New Orleans; "Remember the Alamo;" Hampton Roads; The Flag Bearer; Death of Stonewall Jackson; The Charge of Gettysburg; Lieutenant Cushing and the Ram *Albatross*; Farragut at Mobile Bay.

I once asked Mr. Roosevelt what he considered the best things he had ever written, and the following are the references he gave me to the books here mentioned: The Foreword in his Autobiography. Page 103 2nd paragraph. Pages 342, 343, to the middle of page 345. Page 355, last paragraph. Page 364, last paragraph, and to its end on the next page. Page 377, last paragraph to end. Page 575. He said of Chapter 9, including pages 342-347: "This chapter is the best I ever wrote." In "The Winning of the West" the references were: Vol. I, pages 1-10. Vol. 111, pages 51-53. The editions referred to are those existing in 1915.

When Roosevelt graduated from College it seemed probable that he would devote his life either to science or literature; later the choice appeared to be between politics and letters, for in 1900 he said, speaking of continuing in politics:

I am by no means sure that I ought to go into public life at all, provided some remunerative work offered itself. The only reason I would like to go on is that as I have not been a money maker, I feel rather in honor bound to leave my children the equivalent in a way of a substantial sum of actual achievement in politics or letters.

He was an omnivorous reader and a most voluminous writer. I was a good deal surprised when he said to me about six years ago: "I am not a very ready writer. No one knows how much time I put into my articles for the *Outlook*." He then pulled a typewritten manuscript from his pocket and said—"Here is an article that I am going over, as I have opportunity, correcting and recasting it," and then he added, "but my work is done three months ahead."

This was one reason why he was able to accomplish so much; he was always doing the work of tomorrow, of next week, or of next year. During the winter of 1909, Roosevelt was at work on the addresses he was to deliver after his African trip and while in Europe. This characteristic of always being ahead of his work, coupled with untiring industry was what enabled him to accomplish so much.

He was a scientific naturalist and famous hunter. He has a place among the explorers of the world. His military career, while brief, was highly honorable and effective. As a statesman, patriot and leader of men, he stood preëminent, while the number of his books and their quality would satisfy the ambition of one who wished only to be distinguished as an historian and in letters.

C. G. W.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE

Andrew Dickson White was born at Homer, N. Y., November 7, 1832, and died at Ithaca, November 4, 1918. He was the son of Horace and Clara Dickson White, and his father was a pioneer in Western railroad building. He was graduated from Yale in 1853, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1856. In 1857 he became Professor of history and English literature at the University of Michigan, but in 1863 he returned to New York, where he became prominent in Republican politics and was elected to the New York legislature.

He became associated with Ezra Cornell and assisted in the founding of Cornell University in 1867. Doctor White became the first President, personally contributed \$300,000 to the establishment of the University, and in 1887 presented to it his library of 40,000 volumes. He retained his interest in political and diplomatic life, being President of the State Republican convention in 1871, Commissioner to Santo Domingo in 1871, Commissioner to the Paris Exposition in 1878, Minister to Germany 1879-1881, Minister to Russia 1892-1894, member of the Venezuela Commission in 1896, Ambassador to Germany, 1897-1902, and member of the International Peace Commission at the Hague in 1899. He received many honors from this and other countries, and was given honorary degrees by a dozen colleges. He retained the Presidency of Cornell until 1885.

Doctor White was the writer of many books, the most famous of which were "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology" and his own "Autobiography." He was elected to this Society in 1884, and although because of distance he did not attend the Society's meetings, yet he sent to the Library many of his books and kept in frequent touch through correspondence.

C. S. B

THE INCREASING DEBT OF HISTORY TO SCIENCE

BY ARCHER B. HULBERT

A generation ago Professor Macy said "The scientist wrecks his high ideal, truth-loving and truth-telling, the instant he enters politics and history, where beliefs and not external phenomena are the dominant factors."

Since those words were uttered the natural sciences have been putting historical theories under the magnifying-glass and in the test tube to a degree that is worthy of remark; from what has been accomplished and is on the eve of accomplishment, it seems plain that on several sides American history is undergoing a scientific clarification that will tend toward an accuracy not hitherto attained. A glance over this field of activity is reassuring and provokes interesting speculation as to the future.

In the generation mentioned we have seen a marked advance in the science of geography and geographical interpretations of history. This phase of activity may well be mentioned first because of the lesson it carries.

The Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain was formed in the middle of the Nineteenth Century as the result of colonial trade expansion and the new problems which that expansion brought forward. At about the same time came the formation of our American Geographical and Statistical Society, of which George Bancroft was elected first president in 1851. The original purpose of these organizations, as indicated, was the study of geography and its application to the development of commerce, the distribution of animal and vegetable productions and of the human race. The first paper read before our

American society was on "The Productions and Trade of Paraguay." The importance of such studies as these from a commercial standpoint was soon recognized, and the societies mentioned became clearing-houses too important in their relationship to national growth to remain the monopoly of scientific bodies. Government departments took up the work and official bulletins and consular reports became the mediums of information. This first service of the geographer was a notable one.

At the beginning of the present century we find geologist and geographer combining to give us geographical interpretations of history, and the appearance of studies on "Geographic Conditions" and "Geographic Influences." The Humes of American history were being enlightened by the Mahaffys. Perhaps these enthusiasts proved too much; in any event the reaction came in academic circles, led informally by Professor Burr, that master of winning and polite, but no less caustic analysis, and resulted in a number of valuable conferences in the American Historical Association. The conference on the relation of geography to history presided over by Professor Turner in 1907 was constructive and of especial clarifying value. Here Professor Burr and Professor George B. Adams pointed out that geography was but one factor in explaining history, and that no more in history than in mathematics can the outcome be inferred from one factor alone. Emphasis was laid on the fact that geographers were using ambiguous and inexact phraseology—as in the word "location," which might denote either an act, or the result of an act. "To impute action or causation, influence or control," Professor Burr was quoted, "to things which are inert is a figure of speech which gives vigor to style but which always involves a fallacy; and when to Nature is imputed what is planned and achieved by man, the sufferer from the fallacy is history." Most of the matters, said Professor Adams, which the geographers

call upon us to include in history are conditions not causes; he warned all and sundry not to be deceived into thinking that it was the waterfall which ground the wheat.

Two results from these discussions may be noted; one, an immediate result, was the common recognition of the lack of cartographical material for the teaching of history and the undertaking on the part of the American Historical Association of the preparation of an historical atlas; the other result, of more fundamental importance, was the recognition of the fact that when dealing in generalities, and embracing too wide a scope, geographical interpretations quite failed to elicit confidence. In illustration may be cited a chapter of a book which treats of a certain river valley as the gateway to the continent. Geologically the thesis is sound; historically it gives a most erroneous impression. Commonwealths beyond the Alleghenies were admitted to the Union almost, if not quite, a decade before the route mentioned began to resemble a thoroughfare of migration, and Lewis and Clark had gone to the Pacific before it became well-known; in the canal and railway era the passage-way rose to first importance and still maintains its prestige; but for the fifty crucial years of expansion into the West (1750-1800) it was, historically, the most effectually barred door in the eastern half of the country.

At the present time we find the study of geographical influences, refined in the fire of criticism, making enormous strides as applied locally to specific problems; types of such studies of great value are represented by such papers as Professor Posey's, "The Influence of Geographic Factors in the Development of Minnesota"¹ and Professor Sioussat's "Memphis as a Gateway to the West."² One needs but to scan the bibliography in Vol. III of the *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* to be impressed with the

¹Minnesota History Bulletin. II. Aug. 1918.

²Tennessee Historical Magazine, III. Mar. June 1917.

value to historians of the work being done by such men as Brigham, Tarr, Tower, and others. From this brief review of the influence of the study of physiographic factors on the teaching and understanding of history we see clearly the debt we owe to scientists who adhere closely to the fine art of truth-loving and truth-telling; their factors are of genuine importance so long as they are treated as factors; the conditions they present greatly enrich our understanding until they are confounded with causes. Historians of the Parkman type, who can command the insight of the geologist and topographer, may rewrite many sections of American history; the study of the relationship of the navigability of our rivers with reference to the inland advance of agriculture; the relationship of such barriers as the Berkshires to New England expansion; the rivalry of Memphis, St. Louis and Chicago as trans-continental railway termini, suggest types of study of local conditions which are being made on truly scientific lines. It is only when the historian turns tyro topographer, climatologist, botanist or hydrographer and becomes "possessed with the devil of one idea," as Professor Parks of Andover once said of the abolitionists, that we are in danger of believing that the multiplicand, by some sudden art of necromancy, has become the product.

In the triple alliance of the climatologist, botanist, and geologist we have a combination that will go far in clarifying our understanding of American expansion and the distribution of population. The stock example of settling a long-disputed historical problem with a magnifying-glass is, perhaps, too well known to bear repetition. Its value as a type of scientific checking of historical interpretation is too great, however, to be overlooked here. Dr. Fernald of the Gray Herbarium was too ardent a lover of truth-loving and truth-telling to swallow the story, perpetuated by a long line of historians, of Norsemen filling their ships with grapes on the New England

coast in springtime. Unawed by the array of Norse "towers" and other monuments, this scientist took back to Iceland the words of the Norse sagas and found that "vinber" meant mountain cranberries, not grapes; that "hveiti" meant strand wheat, not Indian corn; and that "mosurr" meant canoe-birch, not maple.³ In such a way was Bancroft's ancient contempt and James P. Dexter's earnest groping in his etymological laboratory made honourable by a scientist who located "Wineland the Good" between Labrador and the lower St. Lawrence. It is interesting to note, as a matter of professional gossip, that Dr. Fernald, so far from becoming "possessed with the devil of one idea" and continuing the ravages of his historical research, has rather made light of his valuable contribution to history and refused election to a very prominent historical society on the plea that he was a scientist and not in the least an historian.

The fact remains, however, that climatic conditions, plant life and agriculture are being taken into account today as never before, and to these we may well look, if not for such brilliant checking as was afforded by Dr. Fernald, at least for many fresh and reliable explanations for the distribution of pioneer populations.

The work of Ellsworth Huntington has commanded wide attention despite the criticism which it has attracted. In his *Civilization and Climate* he shows, for instance, how the advancement of the American Indians was checked by the fact that the regions which were otherwise best for them were also best for grass. This seemingly slight climatic coincidence, joined with the fact that the Indians had no tools of iron and no beasts of burden, prevented the growth of a stable civilization in the northern United States. Another set of climatic conditions, which today, strangely enough, are far from the most favorable, caused the vegetation of regions farther south to be much more

³M. L. Fernald, "Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good." *Rhodora*, XII (Feb. 1910) 17-38.

tractable, for no tough sod could grow. Hence agriculture was possible in southern regions, and our forerunners in America were able to have a much more noteworthy flowering of civilization in the southern United States than in the northern, and a still greater in Mexico.

In the same author's *Civilization and Climate* and *The Red Man's Continent* he shows how the Indians reached their highest pitch of advancement in three highly diverse ways corresponding to three equally diverse types of environment. The first was the irrigation civilization of the Southwest and Mexico. The second found its chief exponent in the Haidas of the Pacific coast near Vancouver Islands, where there grew up a type of culture dependent upon an abundant supply of fish for food and the easy lines of communication furnished by safe and easy waterways among the islands. The third was the cruel, but highly vigorous culture of the Iroquois, centering in a region which stimulates intense activity, but which at the same time had the great handicap of having a climate which made permanent agriculture almost impossible for the Indians because the growth of grass in their fields compelled them to move at frequent intervals.

The second instance to which he refers is in *World Power and Evolution* where he shows the remarkable agreement between the curve of climatic pulsations as worked out in Asia, the Mediterranean regions, and California on the one hand, and the rise and fall of prosperity and activity in Rome on the other. In his opinion this parallelism is one of the most interesting features of the investigation of climatic changes.

Another coincidence of this same kind is that the Mohammedan outburst, as Professor Huntington has shown in "Palestine and its Transformation," came just at the driest time known to history, while the outpouring from Central Asia under Ghengis Khan came at another extremely dry time. Doubtless other causes would have led to a stirring of the nations under

the impulse of Mohammed and Ghengis, but the extreme dryness and consequent hunger seem to have played an important part in making these particular outbursts from the desert so much more serious than any other.

Enthusiasms, such as shown by Professor Huntington, must be excused because they are explorations into new fields and hold a modicum of plausibility. It is easy to say that he builds too great an edifice on a small array of foundation facts. But many of his leads are valuable, and from them we may come to profit to a degree unguessed by those who minimize the net results to date.

While too much attention should not be given to the atmospheric pressure in the halls of political conventions, not even the Constitutional Convention of 1787, climatic and soil conditions which favored the growth of certain trees, plants, and grasses will give us clearer explanations of westward American migration than we now have. When the Watauga Region in the Southern Alleghenies was found to be a second New York State as a butter and cream region, but removed so far southward that cattle would winter unharmed in the open, it became a magnet of migration; the strong argument in building the Ohio canals (which benefited all the Great Lake States equally with Ohio) was that they gave a northward outlet for grains which frequently turned sour in the long voyage to semi-tropic New Orleans; the position of the most northerly ice-free port on the Mississippi River was a dominant factor in railway building in the Middle West in much the way Port Arthur dominated Russian advance upon Manchuria.

Professor Turner, a generation ago, called attention to the limestone pathways leading southward from the old granary of America, Pennsylvania, to the limestone oases of Tennessee and Kentucky. The plant life of these limestone districts exerted far-reaching influences. In the wheat-fields of Pennsylvania the

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English hunter was crossed with the "dog-horses" (as one of General Braddock's officers described them) of Virginia, giving us first the sturdy packhorse of the Indian traders and then the strong wagon-and-coach-horse. These animals arose from out these wheat fields as naturally as did the McCormick reaper. Here, too, was first seen that lumbering vehicle of American migration, the Conestoga wagon, as different from the Concord coach as the civilizations which lay back of them. The place of this limestone zone in the history of American transportation is worthy of emphasis; here was built the first American canal; here plied Fitch's first steamboat; here was built the first steam engine to run on a highway; here was built the first American stone road.

Migration westward followed unconsciously vegetative zones, soils producing nut-bearing trees and mast, the pea-vine valleys and blue grass meadows and balds; the Shenandoah Valley in turn became the granary of Virginia and the pathway of migration on its centripetal route by Cumberland Gap to the Kentucky blue grass zone. When this movement reached Staunton and the blue grass regions of the New and Greenbriar valleys it would naturally have struck straight to its evident goal the Ohio Valley. But the coal measures of the Great Kanawha and Big Sandy blocked the road, sending the movement on the line of greatest vegetative attraction across both the James and New rivers to the five limestone valley tributaries of the Tennessee and thus to Nashville and Boonesboro. Kephart has cited the razorback hog as a pilot of this migrating army which made possible the timely occupation of Kentucky on the eve of the Revolution. He gives good proof that you could not drive that dogmatic, four-legged Calvinist out of his vegetative zone of least resistance and emphasizes that his flesh was the mainstay of the migratory horde.

In proof of the domination of these influences of plant life one needs only to turn to the formal and

informal propaganda of promoters and land companies of the era of expansion into the trans-Allegheny wilderness. Weather conditions, length of seasons, soils, and kinds and dimensions of shrubs and trees were uniformly cited in proof of the excellence of one region over another. Washington's measurement of the giant sycamore on the Ohio in 1770 (done at the risk of his reputation for truth-telling) was intended to indicate merely that such was the fertility of the soil (which he desired to rent for 999 years at a good rental) that it could produce trees forty-five feet in circumference.

The fact that land companies rivalled each other in pointing out the pharmaceutical superiority of the growths on lands offered for sale reminds us that the relationship of migration to disease and choice of settlements has not been scientifically developed. The effects of malaria, miasma, and kindred diseases to settlement making and pioneering is practically an untouched field; the failure of many a prospector and colonizing enterprise, the rise and decay of numerous towns in unhealthy environments, and possibly much of the so-called *wanderlust* of the rovers who led the pioneer advance, might be explained more fully by the student of bacteria than by the historian. These insidious influences had farther reaching effects than have been recognized, influencing mind as well as body, religion as well as diet, politics as well as complexion.

The hysteria, for instance, which accompanied periods of religious excitement along our frontiers was part and parcel with the fanaticism which led the Indian "medicine men" to exert such ghoulish control upon their morbid, distraught proselytes, attaining a terrible success that, in one instance, at least, affected a stolid representative of the white race. The monotony of life in the half-lights of the forests, with its perpetual tendency to provoke the ailments universal to the Indian, pulmonary disorder, together

with the inroads of malarial germs, gave to the pioneer race sallowness of complexion and, together with a limited diet, a gauntness of frame, which characterized them so commonly that the highlander of today in Appalachia feels disgraced by a fat son. The oppressiveness of the monotonous silence of forest life affected mind and, without doubt, body; this was particularly true of women, the mothers of the children of the wilderness, and their sons were the weaker for it; this, perhaps as much as the toil of wilderness existence, may account for the lessened longevity on the part of the pioneer crusaders of our young West.

The lack of zoölogical maps of the west likewise hinders our understanding of the distribution of earliest populations. Maps showing clear lines marking the habitat of the valuable fur-bearing animals will measurably add to our understanding of fur company and international rivalries and the retardations in occupation of zones which did not exert that magnetic influence. Such maps will make much clearer the explanation of the artificial tangents on which numerous migrations struck out and the curiosities of the haphazard occupation of our north-west; the mapping of these zones with reference to the fertile agricultural regions on the one hand, and of the gold and silver areas on the other, will clear up much of the haziness in our understanding of the social movements from the former to the latter.

In the realm of hydrography and aerography the progress made in the past decade is instinct with promise. Those of us who have scripturally believed the winds fitting symbols of fickleness are a little confused to hear them classed among stable and dependable natural phenomena. Certain trade winds we have known are as regular as the seasons, but to be told that the great air currents can be relied upon generally to aid in explaining the seemingly whimsical routes of early explorers and help us to understand

their landfalls and omissions as well as commissions is altogether new.

This work, begun by Professor George Davidson of the University of California, is being continued by Director Alexander McAdie of the Blue Hill Observatory. The work of these men has already made much clearer the facts concerning the discoveries of Vancouver, Drake, and Cooke on the Pacific Coast. By a careful comparison of the original logs kept by these explorers with our present knowledge of air currents, tides, fogs, sea-floor, and coast-lines, these scientists have proven that the "Golden Hinde," for instance, could not have reached the latitude of 48° North as has been uniformly stated and repeated in as late an authority as the last edition of the *Britannica*. They give us certain proof of scientific accuracy that the farthest point reached was 43° North; that Drake could not have discovered San Francisco Bay but, rather, found his anchorage behind Point Reyes, which region he christened "Nova Albion."⁴

It is not unlikely that many of the voyages of the old explorers will be examined in the light of our growing knowledge of air and ocean currents, tides, fogs, and sea-floor, and that many old-time puzzles, such as Cartier's missing the mouth of the St. Lawrence in his first voyage, will be scientifically explained.

As factors in this recasting of opinions the progress in study of marine life will not be without its value; we know vaguely that forms of life frequenting the Gulf Stream differ entirely from those which are found in the submerged Arctic Current on the one hand or in the Sargasso Sea, on the other. The proof that Columbus and other explorers were dependent, or the reverse, on the Gulf Stream for finding the Caribbeans, lies largely with the biologists and ornithologists as well as with the hydrographers.

⁴"An examination of the Early Voyages . . . 1539 to 1603," U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Appendix No. 7; "Nova Albion—1579," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, v. 28. 1918.

More than a decade ago Professor Bassett showed clearly how the study of the coast of the Carolinas could be made to clarify historical interpretation. Probably it will not be long before the science of hydrography will establish a comparison, for instance, between our two great gulfs, the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence with reference to tides, currents and sea-floor. No history with which I am acquainted compares those two great waterway avenues into the heart of America; we know in general that the ocean tides sweep a thousand miles up one river and only about a dozen miles up the other; that one river flows clear from a rocky archæan highland leaving no deposit at its mouth, while the other brings down its alluvial valley four hundred million tons of silt and clay annually to block and metamorphose its innumerable mouths. These vague outstanding facts when scientifically developed by men fitted to speak with accuracy, will make plain why the St. Lawrence became the key to the interior and would have done so had there been no Great Lakes at its head; also why the Mississippi was such an enigma to explorers and was never ascended by Europeans even in small craft until thirty years after the Great Lakes were comparatively well known.

In this connection the soil-carrying power of water has produced sociological results in the way of town and city planting that are worthy of study in numerous instances. The more rapid a stream's current the larger are the soil particles which can be carried in suspension. If the current is moving three inches per second, fine clay and silt will be deposited; at eight inches a second, sand the size of linseed will be deposited. At a rate of sixteen inches a second pebbles an inch in diameter will be transported, while water flowing two feet per second will carry stones the size of a hen's egg.

This study of the relation of soil to velocity of streams explains why alluvial lands have varied

stratified deposits as the currents have varied, and why the richest of soils are likely to be deposited in the backwaters and the coarser near river banks; thus the draining of inland lagoons and swamps discovers exceedingly rich soil. Deltas are usually most productive. If streams at flood tide, bearing much deposit, are blocked from entering other streams to which they are tributary, they become still water and deposit their soil-burden in their channel or upon the surrounding bottom lands. These channel deposits are washed into the main river when the blockade is removed, and, sinking, form bars.

Excellent soils at all deltas had a direct bearing on making such spots choice land for the squatter or prospector. The bars in the main river added to the strategic character of the mouths of streams as sites of settlements and, often, of towns. The bars in the main stream lessened its depth and made fording safer. The main fords were located by the larger game animals at such points, and men, following their well-laid paths, found and used these fords. Frequently high water rendered the ford impassable especially after vehicles came into use. Thus the ferry-boat was needed and the business of ferrying was a profitable one. Ownership of land at such points was, therefore, doubly advantageous, giving the owner a lucrative employment at odd hours. As vehicle travel became common, the ferry was usually moved to a point above the shifting bars where there was a steady depth of water. Railways came later, following streams with monotonous regularity, and bridged streams on the site of the ancient ford. Hundreds of farms in these strategic locations became hamlets in the era of the stage and wagon, and blossomed into cities on the advent of the railways. Behind this interesting evolution we see its secret—the soil-transporting power of water. Studies of this type founded on sound scientific reasoning, give a

basis frequently for the explanation of facts never otherwise understood.

Before closing, the very recent and important development of aerial photography which will be invaluable to the writers of the histories of the late war, should be mentioned. When one considers the endless discussion of the past over positions of lines held and advances made it is not without a feeling of gratitude to these faithful men of daring that we recognize the basis they have laid for correct physiographical studies of the war, sector by sector.

As no one factor explains a result, so no result is understood without the proper recognition of all factors which exert a control over it. The spirit of the day—our admiration for, and devotion to, truth-loving and truth-telling—demands a catholicity of temperament and a loathing of bias on the part of our historical writers. As never before the natural sciences have become the handmaidens of history, and every clarifying influence they exert, or suggestion they offer, must be hailed with attention and gratitude.

SOME PAPERS OF AARON BURR

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCY FORD

The history of this collection of some ninety letters is this. Matthew L. Davis, for many years the friend and trusted adviser of Burr, to whom he left his papers in order that a memoir—a euphemism for a defence—might be prepared, in 1839 gave to Mrs. John Davis of Massachusetts, at her request, some “autographs” selected from the Burr papers. An autograph may be an historical paper, but usually it is not. The autograph hunter is contented to possess a signature, a legal document with seal and signature, or a portion of a letter cut or torn from its context, although in the process the ruin of a fine historical paper might be caused. What the Grangerizer is to books the autograph hunter is to manuscripts—a pest to be educated out of his destructive courses or to be restrained from access to collections of papers. Davis, judging by his compilation, had no just idea of the value or relation of what had been entrusted to him. The name at the foot of the writing he judged according to the popular conception of individuals in history entertained in 1839, and that conception was wholly wrong. There were as many collectors of hair, last words, buttons, and buckles as of historical papers, and a letter of Washington had no more value than a letter of one of his generals or aides—which was no value at all. So limited was the market for such objects, so easily satisfied, and so little the discrimination of so-called collectors that the best of family records suffered by attrition, and years after Davis so light-heartedly drew on the Burr bequest to gratify the caprice of a namesake, Jared Sparks could distribute on request a state paper of Washington leaf by leaf. It was as

intelligent and praiseworthy as a mutual distribution of photographs—a later fancy which somewhat relieved the growing pressure for autographs.

If it is assumed that Davis had no true idea of what a manuscript should be, valuable for its content—and nowhere has he given evidence of possessing such an idea—then the righteous indignation of every student of the Burr period is fittingly directed against him. To dip casually into a collection and select almost accidentally a few papers would be a procedure to shame a modern investigator. Like the haruspex of old he must most carefully examine the entrails of the victim to determine the course of fate. Only on a careful search can the best of a collection be found. What must have been the Burr papers if any judgment can be based on the haphazard selection of these autographs! Name some of these pieces: the letter of Roger Sherman announcing the appointment by Congress of general officers in the Continental army in 1775, with the reasons; an important letter from General Schuyler to General Montgomery (1775), letters from Charles Lee, Chase and Carroll, Lincoln, Hull and Duer to General Wooster; an address in French to the inhabitants of Quebec signed by Benedict Arnold, enjoining them to accept the paper bills of credit of the Continental Congress; a holograph letter of Israel Putnam to Margaret Moncrieffe, and Putnam's letters are so few in number as to be a most sought acquisition, and in them the spelling is according to Putnam not to Johnson—or anywhere near it; a long letter on military matters from Alexander Macdougall and a short note from James Rivington—was he a tory or a good rebel, or both? another from James Wilkinson—is there any doubt as to what he was or deserved? a letter from Gallatin and a few lines from Hamilton; political sheets from Caesar A. Rodney, Thomas Jefferson, Jonathan Russell, Isaiah Bloomfield, Alexander J. Dallas, Willett, Thomas Truxtun, John Taylor of Caroline; a fine letter from

Luther Martin to Joseph Alston on Burr's imprisonment in Richmond, and examples of Theodosia and her husband, of the Prevosts and of Burr himself. If such are sample pieces, what must the whole Burr collection have been? Did it contain the papers of the unfortunate—yet fortunate General Wooster, who did not live to meet certain defeat? Did it contain the records of that rash and ill-considered expedition of 1775-76 to Canada? The sense of indignation against Davis increases as each piece is noted. How account for his criminal carelessness in permitting such a collection to be lost? It was a crime against Burr, his friend and benefactor, and it was a crime against posterity. The incident gives a proper measure of Matthew L. Davis.¹ Fortunately the Ms. of Burr's Journal, when in Europe, 1808-1810, escaped destruction and has been adequately printed by the generous interest of Mr. William K. Bixby, of St. Louis. The Burr papers as they were can only be fancied from the few samples that have survived. This volume made up for Mrs. John Davis thus becomes precious, for it is more characteristic of Burr than any I have met, yet, I insist, the selection must have been accidental.

In another way these letters form an indictment against Davis and all his kind. He took unpardonable liberties with the text of some which he did print. I have in another place² tried to show the gradual development of the editorial function, so largely a matter of conscience, and free speech, and need not again specify the various sins which were in favor when Davis too successfully edited his trust into nothingness. He was guilty of all of them. Whatever was thought of Burr in his public and in his private relations—and the opinion held of him in the nine-

¹In none of the biographical dictionaries is his middle name spelled out and he is invariably referred to as Matthew L. Davis. Mr. A. J. Wall of the N. Y. Historical Society, in answering a letter of inquiry on the subject, finds that his name was Matthew Livingston Davis, that he was born Oct. 28, 1773, the son of Matthew Davis and Phebe Wells, and that he was buried in Trinity Church cemetery.

²American Historical Review, XXIII, 273.

teenth century was quite impressively unanimous—was due to Davis, described as his sole friend for a almost a generation. The worst breach of trust is that which involves the reputation of a benefactor, of one who has bestowed favors and consideration with or without selfish purpose. Burr did not live or die in the odor of sanctity—he could not, in spite of the accumulated credit of his ancestry, in spite of much in extenuation he could himself have supplied. But the bad odor which contemporary conditions aggravated might have been partially deodorized by a judicious statement of truth, for which, from his point of view, the papers left by Burr would have been ample.

Of this responsibility Davis had not the slightest consciousness. With his friend's repute solemnly entrusted to him he went out of his way to destroy it. The deliberate stab which was as needless as it was fatal, is contained in Davis' introduction and again in the text of the *Memoirs*,³ where the morals of Burr were blackened beyond recovery. The opening given to explain or even to excuse his public career was as deliberately neglected. Burr, the man, was stripped naked for public exposure, and this was done by the one person whom he had long known, favored and looked upon as his defender to be. Even royalty cannot stand such a test. "The generality of princes," says Gibbon, and it is as true now as 1600 years ago, "if they were stripped of their purple and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity."⁴ We are asked to believe that Davis was a creditable correspondent of the New York "*Courier and Enquirer*" and of the London "*Times*." Such an experience should have developed a journalistic habit useful in biography, a sense of what is important, or striking, or informing. In fact he took a diamond

³*Memoirs*, I. 91, 181.

⁴Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Milman ed.), III. 133.

and reduced it to paste. He blabbed and destroyed the evidence. Could there be greater or more cowardly disloyalty?

If this journalist, of whose merits so low an opinion must be formed, was responsible for the quite uncalled for exposure of Burr's personal weaknesses, another journalist sought to remedy the fault. James Parton, was, in my early days, somewhat unjustly described as the "great American romancer." Imagination is a desirable quality in biography, especially where the writer is "short" of knowledge or material and a little "long" on temperament. The most successful bit of biographical writing in America was Weems' Washington, which savors of qualities to be found in a mediæval romance of knighthood or of sainthood. What Weems was in little Parton was in large, and his relations are picturesque, highly colored and keenly journalistic—still not unreadable and quite misleading. He was incapable of sounding the depths of character, of analyzing motives and following the turnings of that self-deception which so largely constitutes political life. His Burr is a more winning personality and a more important actor in the drama of history than the Burr of Davis; but in seeking to accomplish this result he so disposed the lights and shadows as to produce a picture which was not a portrait. Even his industry could not manufacture the necessary material, and his use of what he had is often open to question. It should also be remembered that the Burr was Parton's second attempt at biography and his first on a national scale. For Horace Greeley before 1855 was not a figure to be evoked from its partial obscurity except by an aspiring journalist.⁵ Generally speaking for a newspaper man to write of a living master journalist smacks of the biography condemned by the description of a "campaign biography." Parton's Burr was a great improvement on

⁵Parton's *Life of Greeley* appeared in 1855; his *Burr* in 1858.

that of Davis, but yet much was required before proper estimation could be had. What could he have turned out had he been in the possession of the wealth thrown away upon Davis!

The historian who discovered Aaron Burr was Henry Adams. Alone, Burr had been studied chiefly in the shadows of the duel with Hamilton, his successful opponent rather than rival; in relation, Mr. Adams placed him in a series of dramatic tableaux where the high light developed positions which, analyzed, proved hitherto unrecognized qualities and possibilities. History is not merciless, but only true. Partisan history is not only merciless but untrue, and Burr, a politician, pictured by writers of pronounced political leanings, suffered through personal qualities which demanded sympathy without having deserved it. The most complex combination of elements yields to chemical analysis; it may be measured, weighed and broken into its constituents. The simplest character defies analysis, because there are no absolutes, no definite weights, no uniform, inexorable combinations. Unconsciously we use false weights and measures, for we use our own equipment and seek to apply it to other times and other persons. Could anything be more misleading?

Let us summarize the Adams presentation. He describes Burr as of "pure Connecticut Calvinistic blood"⁶ as having succeeded in lowering the standard of New York politics,⁷ something that to our more experienced generation would seem impossible. And then passing over the detail of twenty active years—Burr was forty-five years of age in 1801—he places him in the United States Senate, on March 4, about to take the oath as Vice-President of the United States, but one step below the office which the interested flattery and trained garrulity of midwives have predicted for every male child born in the country

⁶History, I. 109. Mr. Chapin, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, tells me that the term is one implying reproach.

⁷Ib., 112.

since Washington first took the oath of the Presidency, and for which Lincoln and Garfield kept alive the traditions of humble beginnings and glorious endings, and the voice of pure democracy preaches the gospel of equality of opportunity. Here is the picture:

“Another person, with individuality not less marked, took the oath of office the same day. When the Senate met at ten o’clock on the morning of March 4, 1801, Aaron Burr stood at the desk, and having duly sworn to support the Constitution, took his seat in the chair as Vice-President. This quiet, gentlemanly, and rather dignified figure, hardly taller than Madison, and dressed in much the same manner, impressed with favor all who first met him. An aristocrat imbued in the morality of Lord Chesterfield and Napoleon Bonaparte, Colonel Burr was the chosen head of Northern democracy, idol of the wards of New York city, and aspirant to the highest offices he could reach by means legal or beyond the law; for as he pleased himself with saying, after the manner of the First Consul of the French Republic, ‘Great souls care little for small morals.’ Among the other party leaders who have been mentioned,—Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Marshall,—not one was dishonest. The exaggerations or equivocations that Jefferson allowed himself, which led to the deep-rooted conviction of Marshall that he did not tell the truth and must therefore be dangerous, amounted to nothing when compared with the dishonesty of a corrupt man. Had the worst political charges against Jefferson been true, he would not have been necessarily corrupt. The self-deception inherent in every struggle for personal power was not the kind of immorality which characterized Colonel Burr. Jefferson, if his enemies were to be believed, might occasionally make misstatements of fact; yet he was true to the faith of his life, and would rather have abdicated his office and foregone his honors than have compassed even an imaginary wrong against the principles he professed. His life,

both private and public, was pure. His associates, like Madison, Gallatin, and Monroe, were men upon whose reputations no breath of scandal rested. The standard of morality at Washington, both in private society and in politics, was respectable. For this reason Colonel Burr was a new power in the government; for being in public and in private life an adventurer of the same school as scores who were then seeking fortune in the antechambers of Bonaparte and Pitt, he became a loadstone for every other adventurer who frequented New York or whom the chances of politics might throw into office. The Vice-President wielded power, for he was the certain centre of corruption."

Events soon showed that Jefferson could wield the national patronage in such a manner as to paralyze Burr's motions to strengthen a political position in New York. Local appointments tipped the scales in favor of Burr's rivals—the Clintons—or purchased the desertion of his supporters—the Livingstons; and scarcely had the summer of 1801 passed before Jefferson's own party in New York had been hopelessly split and Burr was well-advanced on the road of opposition. His personal dislike of Jefferson, which was cordially reciprocated, soon led to open insubordination. Under dictation, but not reluctantly, the press of party began to hound Burr from public life.⁸ So successful was the attack that in 1804, with retirement from the Vice-Presidency in sight, Burr, "bankrupt in public and private character, abandoned by his own party as a man who no longer deserved confidence," turned to the Federalists for support. He gained recognition, aroused the jealousy of Hamilton and—we all know what followed. It is not so much the death of Hamilton on which we would dwell; it is that from the Federalists Burr gained the idea of disunion. Ambition and revenge, directed

⁸Adams's History, I, 270-283.

against the equally ambitious leader of the Federalists and the even more astute and powerful leader of the Republicans, were his undoing. In the flash of the pistol on Weehawken heights Burr ended all chance of regaining by legitimate means power the future might have held. His idea of an independent western confederation, even of an empire to be carved from Spanish territory, was splendid imagery approaching the dreams of a hashish smoker. So far from considering his career as ended when acquitted on a charge of treason, he had become desperate, and would "rather sacrifice the interests of his country than renounce celebrity and fortune." Such was the opinion of the French minister.⁹ and such has been the verdict of posterity.

This cold-blooded, selfish ambition which so overreached itself is the public life of the man. Mr. Adams very properly confines his treatment to Burr's public career, using it judiciously as a foil to develop the position of other actors no more scrupulous than he in political battle. The other side—the personal—is better told in Burr's own letters—those to his wife, to his daughter and, if rumor and Davis are accepted, to almost any woman who was presentable and inconsolable. It is difficult to reconcile the two aspects of the man; indeed they cannot be reconciled. Allowing for the undoubted exaggeration of his faults, we find no reason to discount the dole of his virtues displayed in his affection for wife and daughter. Theodosia Burr has become one of the romantic characters in our history—not because much is known of her, but because what is known tempts speculation on inheritance and awakens doubt on what might have developed. To have surrendered to her influence is Burr's chief claim upon our compassion.

He possessed a like capacity for awakening affection in others—in his youth, something more than affection,

⁹Adams's History, II. 402, 407.

an unquestioning confidence. The names of his adherents in 1806 are those of his associates in 1776—thirty years earlier. Wilkinson, Dayton, Ogden, who were with him in the Canada campaign, reappear themselves or in a son in the New Orleans conspiracy. Yet with what a difference! The earlier venture is tinged with the spirit of a crusade, that lasting force which appeals to the ages; and its miserable failure can be placed largely to an excess of zeal which had neglected to measure material difficulties before presuming upon success through appeals to mutiny—to disloyalty. Montgomery, Wooster, and the lesser officers died in an effort to reach an “oppressed” people who did not want to be saved from their present governors. Arnold, Schuyler, Hazen and others survived that effort, making reputations of various colors by their service, developed later qualities or invited experiences which left them in arrested development or partial obscurity. It was New England that unjustly hampered Schuyler; it was ambition deformed under a sense of injustice that gave Arnold his undesirable eminence; it was poverty that reduced Hazen to helplessness.

Burr lived to share a combination of these misshapen fortunes, and in the event to have his name linked with Arnold. His personal bravery was not questioned—until his desertion of his fellow-conspirators on the Mississippi. His ambition kept alive a touch of idealism which had made the crusader in 1775, the politician of 1800, and the schemer after 1804. The man who impressed his college mates and won their confidence, was the same man who gained such control in New York politics as to be within sight, even touch, of the Presidency. The man who could plan the overthrow of his rival in political ambition was the same who could picture the carving of a kingdom from the western territory, the ousting of Spain from an empire. Yet whatever motion he embarked upon seems to have been undertaken on too

small capital—a reflection of the Canada situation. His political machine, sufficient for the moment, broke down when its strength appeared greatest, because his duel with Hamilton rendered its further growth difficult, if not impossible. A social machine which is for a moment arrested in motion is generally stalled in action. His attempt to detach the western states from the union failed, because he aroused somewhat late in the day the opposition of the United States government. Had he succeeded to his content, his means were totally inadequate to his object. Spain's empire in America—only a small part of which Burr coveted—has given the final test of his scheme based as it was upon nothing substantial. The long and trying passage of Spanish possessions from colonies to independent states, even now not wholly accomplished in some after nearly a century of effort, proves how little chance a foreign adventurer would have had to obtain so much as a foothold in territory or making a lasting impression on the population of that territory. The equally long list of attempts to gain access to and alter this inert but combustible material, from Miranda to our intervention in Cuba, reduces Burr's intent to foolishness. By poverty he became an adventurer; and worst of all, he alienated even those who in personal loyalty or from interest attached their hopes and fortunes to his career, so thoroughly that it was literally true in the end he had as a follower only Matthew L. Davis. It is one of Davis' peculiarities that he blamed Washington for not favoring Burr—though neither he nor Burr can give evidence of a personal hostility on the part of the general and president. The distrust and opposition of Jefferson and others are well established by the records, but they were incidents in the career of any ambitious politicians, versed in the methods of the darker side of political management. More suggestive than either of these forces was that which came from himself, making Wilkinson his betrayer, Dayton treacherous

and involving all concerned with him in perils such as obliged them to desert him and seek their own safety at the very time when he most needed their help and countenance. It is a remarkable history, whether studied on the lines of heredity, of development of character, or of performance; and few public characters in the history of the United States offer so picturesque a model for a biography, such a combination of capability and sordidness, ambition and power, ruthless pursuit of great ends on nothing but unstable personality. Playing for large stakes the cards were against him, but he had done his best to stack them in his own favor, and no true gambler complains when he loses. A succession of failures marks the salient points in his career. For his failures he had himself to blame; for our ignorance of little but his failures and for the absence of a possible salvage of character we hold Matthew L. Davis responsible.

MATTHEW L. DAVIS TO MRS. JOHN DAVIS¹⁰

NEW YORK 25th November 1839.

MADAM,—

Some time since you expressed a wish that I would select from among the papers of the late Col. Aaron Burr, a few Revolutionary Autographs. With others of a later date, they are herewith presented. May I be permitted to ask their acceptance as a testimonial of the profound respect entertained for your great Worth, and rare intellectual acquirements, by, Mada, Your most Obt. Servt.

M. L. DAVIS.

The Hon. Mrs. John Davis, Worcester

WILLIAM PATERSON TO AARON BURR¹¹

PRINCETON, Thursday Noon.

[January 17th 1772.]

DEAR BURR,—I am just ready to take horse, and therefore cannot have the pleasure of waiting on you in person. Be

¹⁰Eliza, daughter of Rev. Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Baneroff, was born February 17, 1791, married, March 28, 1822, John Davis, and died January 24, 1872. See *Ancestry of John Davis and Eliza Baneroff*, compiled by Horace Davis, San Francisco, 1897.

¹¹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 36.

pleased to accept of the inclosed Essay on Dancing: if you pitch upon it as the Subject of your next discourse, it may perhaps furnish you with a few hints, and enable you to compose with the greater facility and dispatch. To do you any little services in my power will afford me great satisfaction, and I hope you will take the liberty (it is nothing more, my Dear Burr, than the freedom of a friend,) to call upon me whenever you think I can. When I shall be here again is uncertain; perhaps not before vacation: forbear with me whilst I say, *that you cannot speak too slow*. Your good judgment generally leads you to lay the emphasis on the most forcible word in the sentence; so far you are very right. But the misfortune is, that you lay too great stress upon the emphatical word. Every word should be distinctly pronounced; one should not be so highly sounded as to drown another. To see you shine as a speaker would give great pleasure to your friends in general, and to me in particular; I say nothing of your own honour; the desire of making others happy will, to a generous mind, be the strongest incentive. I am much mistaken, if such a desire has not great influence over you. You are certainly capable of making a good speaker. Exert yourself. I am in haste; Dear Burr, adieu.

WM. PATERSON.

Be careful of the inclosed; it is the only copy I have.

Mr. Aaron Burr.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr.

[Memorandum] William Paterson Princeton Jan'y 17th 1772. Princeton.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, JUN., TO AARON BURR.¹²

DEAR SIR,—By a poor candle, with poor eyes, and a poorer brain, I sit down to introduce a long wished for correspondence. You see how solicitous I am to preserve old connections, or rather to begin new ones. Relationship, by the fashionable notions of those large towns, which usurp a right to lead and govern our opinions, is dwindled to a formal nothing—a mere shell of ceremony. Our ancestors, whose honesty and simplicity, though different from the wise refinements of modern

¹²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1 p. 41.

politeness, were, perhaps, as deserving of imitation, as the insincere coldness of the present generation, cousin'd it to the tenth degree of kindred. Tho this was extending the matter to a pitch of extravagance, yet it was certainly founded upon a natural, rational principle. Who are so naturally our friends, as those who are born such? I defy a *New Yorker*, tho' callous'd over with city politeness, to be otherwise than pleased, with a view of ancient hospitality to relations, when exercised by a person of good breeding, and a genteel education. Now, say you, what has this to do with the introduction of correspondence? You shall know directly sir. The Edwardses have been always remarkable for this fondness for their relations. If you have the least inclination to prove yourself a true descendant of that (to us) respectable stock, you cannot fail of answering me very soon. This, was I disposed, I could demonstrate by algebra and syllogisms, in a twinkling; But hope you will believe me without either. I never asked for many connections in this way, nor was ever denied, but once, by a *Jersey*¹³ Gentleman, originally of *New England*. I hope the disease is not epidemical, and that you have not determined against any communication with the rest of the world. It was a mortification, I confess: for I am too proud to be denied a request, tho' unreasonable, as many of mine are. Therefore I insist upon an answer, at least; and as many more, as you can find in your heart to give me; promising in return, as many by tale, though, without a large profit, at least 50 per cent. shant warrant their quality. I am Sir your sincere friend and servant,

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Jun'r.

New Haven, March I don't know the day 1772 Wednesday.

[Addressed] For Mr. Aaron Burr at Nassau Hall in Princeton New Jersey. Favoured by Mr. Davenport.

[Memorandum] Timothy Dwight New-Haven March 10th 1772. Princeton.

¹³The gentleman's name was Allen, with whom you are doubtless acquainted. I wrote him two letters, and received no answer, which was a little disagreeable to me; almost as much so, as it would have been to him, to have answered me.

SAMUEL SPRING TO AARON BURR¹⁴

It is a little strang to me that I have not heard any thing of you since your examination. I dont know but you are turned back and out of College too since you are so bakward to write, however I will if possible keep such thoughts out, of my mind till I hear from you in particular. If you are let down a peg lower you may tell me of it: if you are permitted to live in College you may tell of it; and if you are turn'd out you may tell of that too; if you passed examination and have a Syllogism to speak at commencement *if you are able to make it* I suppose you may tell me of that likewise; or if you have got the *first oration in the class* you may *tell me if you will only do it softly*, indeed you may tell me any thing for I profess to be your friend. Therefore since you can trust me so far, I expect you will now write and let me know a little how matters are at present in College. In particular let me know the state of the society, and if I owe anything to it do you pay it and *charge it to your humble servant*. I hope you will write the first opportunity as I trust you have got some very good news to tell me concerning College in general, and I hope of yourself in particular. I have nothing remarkable to write at present; it is very pleasant to me where I am at present. The study of Divinity is very agreeable far more so than any other study would be to me whatever. I hope to see the time when you will see it your duty to go into the same study with a desire for the ministry. Remember that that was the prayer of your dear father and mother and is the prayer of your friends to this time, that you should step forth into his place and make it manifest that you are a friend to heaven and that you have a tast for glory. But this you are sensible can never be the case if you remain in a state of nature, therefore improve the present and future moments to the best of purposes, as knowing the time will soon be upon you when you will wish that in living you had lived right and acted rationally and like an immortal.

SAMUEL SPRING.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr, Princeton, N. Jersey College.

[Memorandum] Sam'l Spring, New-Port, May 15th, 1772.

¹⁴Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 62.

TIMOTHY EDWARDS TO AARON BURR¹⁵

STOCKBRIDGE, February 11th, 1774.

DEAR NEPHEW,—Whether you study law with Mr. Reeve, or your uncle Pierpont, is a matter of indifference with me. I would have you act your own pleasure therein altogether. I shall write to your uncle upon it, but yet treat it as a matter of doubt. Your board I shall settle with the Doctor¹⁶ myself. I will send you cash to pay for your horse, as soon as I have paid off, for my oxen, sent to the Jerseys, the last fall. Two hundred pounds for them is due this month. When that is paid you may be assured that I will send you as above. You may expect it on the fore part of March. If I had known of this want of yours sooner I would have paid it before this. We are all well and join in love etc. I am your affectionate Uncle and Guardian,

TIMO. EDWARDS.

Sally's things are to be sent by the first sleigh.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr at Bethlem.

JONATHAN SERGEANT, SEN., TO AARON BURR.

PRINCETON, May 24th, 1774.

SIR,—I received yours of the 21st Instant and observe the contents. I spent the next day after I was with you at Doctor Wetherspoon's¹⁷ about gitting the matter settled with him about the rent and at last got the Judgment of one man that he should pay Seven pounds per year but have got no money of him yet and he is gone to Philadelphia so that I cannot speak to him. I have spent some time examining my accounts and find nothing due from me. This morning I went to Mr. Longstreets to enquire if he had any but could not see him he being from home in quest of money for you. Doctor Wetherspoon says he has an account against you which he expects will answer part of his debt and the remainder I will git him to pay as soon as I can so that it's uncertain whether any will

¹⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 46.

¹⁶Rev. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn.

¹⁷John Witherspoon (1722-1794).

be ready for you this week or in a very short time or not. I am, your friend and humble Servant,

JON'N SERGEANT.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr at Elizabeth-town. By the post.

ISAAC SEARS TO DAVID WOOSTER.¹⁸

NEW YORK, 14th June, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—The Troops from Cork destined for this City may be hourly expected. I have the pleasure to inform you that this day in Congress, it was moved That yourself and troops be requested to encamp within five miles of this City. The Motion was put off untill to morrow, at the intercession of the Members for three Counties, and you may be assured it will be carried by a great Majority.¹⁹

I am Dear Sir, Yours Affectionately,

ISAAC SEARS.

To General Wooster

ROGER SHERMAN TO DAVID WOOSTER²⁰

PHILADELPHIA June 23d 1775.

DEAR SIR,—The Congress having determined it necessary to keep up an Army for the Defence of America at the Charge of the United Colonies have appointed the following General Officers George Washington Esqr. Commander in Chief, Major Generals, Ward, Lee, Schuyler and Putnam, Brigadier Generals Pomroy, Montgomery, yourself, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Major Sullivan, of New Hampshire and one Green of Rhode Island. I am sensible that according to your former rank you were intitled to the place of a Major General, and as one was to be appointed in Connecticut I heartily recommended you to the Congress. I informed them of the Arrangement made by our Assembly, which I thought would be satisfactory to have them continue in the same order, but as General Putnam's fame was spread abroad, and especially his successful enterprize at Noddles Island the account of which had just arrived, it gave him a preference in the opinion of the

¹⁸(1729-1786).

¹⁹American Archives, 4th Sec., II, 1297, 1299.

²⁰Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 59.

Delegates in general so that his appoint[ment] was unanimous among the Colonies. but from your known abilities and firm attachment to the American cause we were very desirous of your continuance in the Army, and hope you will accept of the appointment made by the Congress. I think the pay of a Brigadier is about 125 Dollars per month. I suppose a Commission is sent to you by General Washington. We received Intelligence yesterday of an engagement at Charlestown but have not had the particulars. all the Connecticut Troops are now taken into the Continental Army. I hope proper care will be taken to secure the Colony against any sudden invasion, which must be at their own expence. I have nothing further that I am at Liberty to acquaint you with of the doings of the Congress but what have been made public. I would not have any thing published in the papers that I write lest something may inadvertently escape me which ought not to be published. I should be glad if you would write to me every convenient opportunity and inform me of such occurrences, and other matters as you may think proper and useful for me to be acquainted with. I am with great esteem Your humble Servant,

ROGER SHERMAN.

P.S. The General Officers were Elected in the Congress not by nomination but by Ballot.

David Wooster Esqr.

[Addressed] To Major General Wooster of Connecticut, not at New York or Greenwich.

Forwarded by Sir Your very humble servant, John Hancock. Philadelphia 27 June 1775.

JOSEPH REED²¹ TO DAVID WOOSTER

Camp at CAMBRIDGE, July 25, 1775.

Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency General Washington to inform you that yesterday afternoon 3 Men of War with a number of Transports sailed from Boston. They steer'd E. S. E. after they got out, but we cannot yet learn their destination, or whether they have taken off any part of the Troops of the Enemy. As their designs are so much unknown

²¹(1741-1785.)

to us, and it is possible they may move to New York, the General thought proper to apprise you of it, that you may be prepared for such an event. This he would have done with his own hand but he has been much indisposed for some days past. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

JOS. REED, Sec'y.

[Addressed] To the Hon. David Wooster Esqr., B. General of the Troops of the United Colonies of North America.

[Memorandum] Cambridge 25 July 1775. Gen'l Washington's letter.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO DAVID WOOSTER

LEBANON, 16th August, 1775.

SIR,—I have your favour of the 14th instant²² per James Lockwood, Esquire.²³ Am of opinion that your return to Harlem with your men will be best. That it is necessary the Stock on Long Island etc. be secured against further depredation. Hope the people and their force there will be able to secure the same, if not, should rather at their desire and expence to furnish some other Companies from the Main—provided they can be spared, which is probable. Will send your Information to General Washington.

As to the Rev'd James Lyon²⁴ you mention, shall leave the disposition of him to your prudent direction. Such persons are very pernicious.

My Council will be with [me?] tomorrow shall then consult on the affair. Am obliged for your intelligence, and for the service you have done the Islanders. I do not get any intelligence of importance that is late to communicate.

I am, with Esteem and Respect, Sir, Your Obedient Humble Servant,

JON'TH. TRUMBULL.

[Addressed] To Major General David Wooster at Oyster Ponds on Long Island. On the Public Service.

²²American Archives, 4th Sec., III, 134.

²³Appointed Secretary to General Wooster, May 1, 1775, and was with him in the Canada expedition. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, III, 193.

²⁴Sabine, *Loyalists*, II, 40.

PHILIP V. B. LIVINGSTON²⁵ TO DAVID WOOSTER.

In Provincial Congress, New York August 18th, 1775.

SIR,—We enclose you a copy of a Paragraph in General Washington's letter of the 10th instant.²⁶ In consequence of which we desire you to return to your Camp at Harlem with the utmost speed to assist in the Defence of this City and Province.

We are, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servants,

By order, O

P. V. B. LIVINGSTON President.

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Wooster at East end of Nassau Island.

SALLY REEVE TO AARON BURR.

LITCHFIELD, September 2d, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—When Mr. Philips came home and informed me that you had not received one letter from us I was both sorry and angry sorry for the hard tho'ts you must entertain of me and angry at the Post for acting so ridiculous a part and he has serv'd us just so this week sat off with [out?] coming to Lichfield for any letters. I hop you will not think we have neglected you when I assure you this is the 6th letter we have wrote you since you have been at the camp if you should ever receive my first letter you will then see my sentiments on your leading a Solders life you will allso find I have promised if you are sick or wonded I will com and see you and I still assure you that the frightful nois of great guns nor the tho'ts of being in a Camp shall prevent my coming if either of those should be the case you will not expect a long letter when I inform you that I have been picklin preserving damsens and makeing jellies. I believe you will think it a pritty good days work for me. I did not know of this oppertunity 'till just now or I sould have took a more leasure time. one peace of newes Mr. Reeve²⁷ and I are become great milk sops. Do write som newes we are starving for want of it I wish you woud com and

²⁵(1710-1792.) Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, I, 430.

²⁶American Archives, 4th Ser., III, 533, 536.

²⁷Tapping Reeve (1744-1823).

make us a visit if it is but a day or two tho I believe I could perswad you to stay if I coud but see you. I am tyred so
Good by

SALLY REEVE.

Bobb sends his compliments.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr, Cambridge.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

TYONDEROGA, November 30th, 1775

DEAR GENERAL,—You send me such agreeable accounts, and so very frequently, that I am under the necessity of scribbling an hour before day, to announce the glad tidings to my superiors. Prescott²⁸ arrived and was in my room half an hour before I received your letter. I believe he could easily perceive that I knew his character, and I had an opportunity this morning to write him a line, in which I declared that I thought it a duty incumbent on every honest man to do to others as he would wish to be done by, that upon this principle we had always paid attention to those whom the fortune of war had put into our power.

The settlement of the Army Accounts will be a laborious work, and it cannot be compleated, unless I have the pay rolls of every Company. I wish you therefore to order the Captain and Commanding Officers of Companies to make them out and send them to me as soon and as nearly agreeable to the inclosed form, as they can, the Officers and Men's pay to be calculated from the day of their inlistment to the day on which they died, were discharged, taken prisoners, deserted or reinlisted, without any regard to any former pay rolls which they may have sent in, or which may have been paid off; on the back of this roll an indorsement of what money has been received, by whom, from whom, when and where. And as many of the men, that may remain with you in Canada may have families in the country and may wish to have the money paid here, you will please to order the Captains or Officers Commanding Companies, to make a return of such men, for which I also inclose them a form. You will have so much business on hand that you will

²⁸Richard Prescott (1725-1788), who was captured a second time in Rhode Island in 1777.

not be able to attend to this. I wish you therefore to appoint some person that is a good accountant to see this necessary work done, and to make him an allowance adequate to his services, for many of the Officers are incapable of doing this properly.

Be so good as to let me have a return of your new establishment, that we may be able properly to arrange the Officers to the Corps that may be raised here, to march into Canada as soon as the Lakes are passible, which I believe will consist of one thousand men, as the Gentlemen of the Committee²⁹ have agreed to report that number to Congress as necessary to be immediately raised.

When I mentioned to you to provide Clothing for the Troops, I concluded from the letter of Congress of the 12th of October, (Copy of which I did myself the honor to transmit you) that the clothing was not to be deducted from their pay, altho' I did not mention this. The Resolutions which I sent you on the 19th Inst. order a stoppage to be made. As I do not know what promises you may have made, I suggested to to the Gentlemen of the Committee, that it was necessary to say something to you on the subject. And they are unanimously of opinion that if the stoppages can be made, without running too great a risk of prejudicing the service, that it ought to be done, especially as a bounty of two months' pay is given, which altho' not mentioned in the Resolutions, for that purpose, was intended to enable the soldiers in Canada, to pay for the clothes and thereby to reimburse them for the stoppages to be made, and that upon the whole it is most advisable to leave this matter to your discretion, not doubting but that Congress would acquiesce in your determination.

I now transmit you some additional Instruction of Congress, part of which you have already actually anticipated and others I dare say you have already determined on.

I make no doubt but that Capt: Lamb³⁰ will be properly provided for. I will do everything in my power for so good an Officer and have begged the Gentlemen of the Committee to second your recommendation.

²⁹John Langdon, Robert Treat Paine and Eliphalet Dyer. Their instructions are in Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), III, 339, and their report in *Ib.*, 416.

³⁰John Lamb (1735-1809).

I have made Honorable Mention of Colo: Easton to General Montgomery and transmitted an extract of your letter to Congress.

Inclose you some blank Commissions, as Mr. Lockwood³¹ is now Brigade Major, the Commission intended for Dimon³² is to go to him.

You will please to order all the Salt Petre in Canada to be purchased; I wish a prudent person to be employed in this business, that it may be as little known as possible, least it should induce the Canadians to think that we were in want of powder.

Please to let me know as soon as you conveniently can, what money you have advanced to the Connecticut or any other Troops and for what purpose.

General Washington has desired me to send all the Cannon and Military Stores that can be spared, to Boston, be so good as to let me know what you have in Canada and what you think will be wanted there beyond what you have.

I send the Sloop and Schooner back to St. Johns. One or the other of them I wish should bring the Horses that I sent Lieut: Thompson to buy. I am under the necessity of carrying Boats into Lake George, as I can get hardly any back from the South End of that Lake.

Please to fill up Commissions for Macpherson and Renss

The Gentlemen of the Committee will write you in few days. I am, Sir, with sentiments of Respect and Esteem, Your most Obedient and Very humble Servant,

PH: SCHUYLER.

General Montgomery.

[Memorandum] Tiond'a 30th Nov'r 1775. Gen'l Schuyler with N. 1. and 2. of 30th Nov'r 1775.

TAPPAN REEVE TO AARON BURR.³³

STOCKBRIGE January 27th 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,—Amidst the lamentations of a Country for the loss of your brave enterprizing General your escape

³¹Lieut. Samuel Lockwood, of Waterbury's regiment.

³²David Dimon, aide to General Wooster.

³³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 75.

from such imminent danger to which you have been exposed has afforded us the greatest satisfaction. The news of the unfortunate attack upon Quebec arrived among us on the thirteenth of this month. I concealed it from your Sister untill the 18th when she found it out but in less than half an hour I received letters from Albany acquainting me that you was in safety and had gained great honour by your intrepid conduct. it gave us a kind of happiness that I should be very loth ever again to enjoy for it never can be the case untill you have again been exposed to the like Danger and have again escaped it which I hope may never happen. to know that you was in safety gave great pleasure it was heightned by hearing that your conduct was brave—could you have been crowned with success it would have been compleat. It was happy for us that we did not know that you was an Aid de Camp untill we heard of your welfare for we heard that Montgomery and his Aid de Camps were killed without knowing who his Aid de Camps was. whenever you can pray send me the particulars of that transaction. your Sister enjoys a midling state of health she has many anxious hours upon your account; but she tells me that as she believes you may serve your Country in the business in which you are now employed she is contented that you should remain in it. It must be an exalted publick Spirit that could produce such an effect upon a sister as affectionate as your's. As to news you will be acquainted with all we have before this reaches you. the present reinforcement for Canada as we understand it is one Regiment from Pensylvania two from New Jersey one from New York two from Connecticut one from the Massachusetts one from New Hampshire one from the Grants. our eastern privateers continue very successfull. the american squadron has sailed from Philadelphia their destination unknown. Your affectionate Brother,

T. REEVE.

I expect another opportunity by Capt. Seymour. Do not fail to write.

CHARLES LEE TO DAVID WOOSTER.

N. YORK, February the 28th, 1776.

SIR,—I am to inform you that I am appointed by the Continental Congress to the Command of the Troops in Canada.³⁴ I hope and dare say we shall agree well together. I must request you immediately to contract and grind into flour twenty thousand bushels of Wheat. I must also desire that you will suffer the Merchants of Montreal to send none of their woolen Cloths out of the Town. the post is just going out. I must therefore conclude, Sir, Yours,

CHARLES LEE,

Major General.

I have orderd twelve twelve pounders from Crown Point to Sorrel. I leave it to your discretion whether it would not be prudent before it is too late in the season to send em to the falls of Richlieu where it appears to me, you ought to establish a Post.

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Worcester, Montreal. On Public Service.

ADDRESS OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Aux Habitans du District de Québec.

Vû la rareté actuelle des espèces d'or et d'argent, et les Dépenses excessives que nous sommes journellement obligés de faire pour l'entretien de notre Armée devant Québec, Nous avons jugé à propos de donner cours dans le public à une Quantité nécessaire de l'argent de Carton établi par Ordre de l'honorable Congrès, sur le Crédit universel des Colonies unies du Continent: Assurant par la présente Publication tous ceux à qui il appartiendra, que le dit Papier ou carton, ainsi issu par Ordonance du Congrès, aura libre Cours dans toute l'étendue de nos Colonies, et y sera reçu en payement selon sa Valeur nominale, ainsi qu'elle se trouve marquée sur le dit Papier ou Carton. Déclarons en outre par ces Présentes, que quiconque donnera Cours au dit Argent du Congrès, en recevra dans l'espace de 3 ou 4 Mois de la datte de la Présente, le Montant en Or et en Argent. Come au

³⁴March 1 he was ordered to the Southern Department.

contraire, toute Personne qui refusera de le recevoir au Cours et sans aucun Décompte, sera considéré comme un Ennemi des Colonies unies, et traité comme tel.

Donné sous notre signature et le sceau de nos Armes au Quartier général ce 4e Mars 1776.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of the Army before Quebec.

DAVID WOOSTER TO HECTOR McNEIL.³⁵

Camp before QUEBEC, April 23d 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Your favour of yesterday I have received and say in answer, I still hope notwithstanding the infinite number of difficulties of every kind that we have to encounter from almost every quarter, that we shall be able finally to prevail. You observe very justly that every piece of duty is undertaken and executed with a strange indifference, that, too truly has been the case, ever since I have been here, indeed it has been an arduous task even to keep the troops upon the ground and I have hardly been able to have a single Order properly executed, almost every day discovers new traitors even in our bosoms who endeavour to frustrate all our designs. I have great reason to mistrust Cap'n Pepper. I shall therefore send him away prisoner with his vessel up the River. he has repeatedly broke his word and disappointed me in business which he has undertaken to perform and from many circumstances I have reason to believe he wished to have omitted.

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances which are enough to make the heart of a man of sentiment and sensibility bleed for his country, yet let us make the best of our situation. I am confident that a few days will put a very different face upon our affairs. We certainly shall have in a very few days a large reinforcement of men artillery stores and I hope every thing necessary for our future operations.

I have ordered Cap'n Palmer to send off all the vessels from Point au Tremble up the River except the *Maria* which I shall immediately man and arm in such a manner as I hope she will be able to defend herself and perhaps do us some service below.

³⁵A captain in the Continental Navy.

I shall be much obliged to you if you advise and direct such parties as may be sent to Point au Tremble in such a manner as you think conducive to the public safety, and all Officers of parties will obey your directions. I am Sir in haste with the greatest esteem and regard your sincere friend and very humble Servant,

DAVID WOOSTER.

My compliments to Mrs. McNeil and family.

P.S. Sir I understand by Cap'n Palmer and by Cap'n Church that the vessels have been neglected from a dispute among some of the Officers about who commands. I have now told them to take their orders from you. I beg, Sir, if your health will permit, that you would send for the Officers and direct each to his proper business that the vessels may immediately be got ready and sent off and they are hereby ordered strictly to obey your instructions as they will answer the contrary as disobedience of my Orders.

D. WOOSTER, B. Gen'l.

[Addressed] To Cap'n Hector McNeil, Point au Tremble.
Per Cap'n Palmer. On the Service of the Colonies.

SAMUEL CHASE AND CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON³⁶ TO
DAVID WOOSTER.

MONTREAL, 25th May, 1776.

SIR,—We think it would be proper for you to issue an order to the town Major to wait on the Merchants or others having provisions or merchandize for sale and request a delivery of what our troops are in immediate want of offering to give a receipt expressing the quantity delivered and engaging the faith of the united Colonies for payment, and on refusal we think our necessity requires that force should be used to compel a delivery.

Your most obedient humble Servants,

SAMUEL CHASE

CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

³⁶Members of a committee of the Continental Congress.

WILLIAM PATERSON TO AARON BURR³⁷

NEW BRUNSWICK, July 22d, 1776.

MY DEAR BURR,—I did myself the pleasure of writing you by my brother, who is in General Sullivan's Brigade, and who was in expectation of seeing you, as he was destined for the Canada Department. Indeed from the Friendship which subsisted between us I was in expectation of hearing frequently from you; and, to tell the truth, was not a little mortified, that I was passed over in silence. Why Burr all this negligence? I dare not call it forgetfulness; for I cannot bear the thought of giving up my place in your esteem. I rejoiced at your return, and congratulate you on your promotion. I was attending the Convention at Burlington when you passed on to Philadelphia, and was full of the pleasing hope of having an interview with you;—the Delaware indeed ran between us; a mighty obstacle to besure! I enquired when you designed to return, that I might plant myself at Bristol, and intercept you on your way. The enquiry was of no avail. I have at times been violently tempted to write you a railing letter; and for that purpose have more than once taken up the pen; but I can hardly tell how, on such occasions the Genius of Friendship would rise up to view, and soften me down into all the tenderness of affectionate sorrow; perhaps because I counted you as lost. I find I must e'en forgive you; but remember, you must behave better in future. Do write me now and then; your letters will give me unfeigned pleasure; and, for your encouragement, I promise to be a faithful correspondent. In the letter-way you used to be extremely careless; you know I am in that respect of a different turn.

This will be handed you by Mr. Hugg and Mr. Leaming, Members of our Convention, whom curiosity partly, and partly business have impelled to New York. As men they are genteel, sensible, and deserving; as politicians they are worthy of your regard, for they possess the genuine Spirit of Whiggism. They have no acquaintance in York; they are desirous of seeing the Fortifications, and other things in the military line: pray take them by the hand; and be assured, that any kindness

shewn them will be acknowledged as an additional obligation conferred upon your affectionate

WM. PATERSON.

Major Burr.

[Addressed] Major Aaron Burr, Aid-de-camp to General Putnam, New York. Favored by Messrs. Hugg and Leaming. [Judge Paterson, Supreme Court U. States.]

ISRAEL PUTNAM TO MARGARET MONCRIEFFE

NEW YORK the 28 of July 1776.

DEAR MAM,—I must beag your pardon for not answering your leators sooner but the reason was becaus I did not know how to giue you an answer, and not becaus Majr. Moncref did not giue me my titel for I dont regard that in the least but am willing to do him or any of his any kind offes lays in my power not with standing our political disputs for I know let his sentements be what they will he must fight and am well assured we shal fight sooner then giue up our Libertys acording to your desier I haue ben trieng to git leaue for you to go to Stratons Island for that eand haue waited one his Exelancy for liberty for you to go his answer was that when the larst flag was up hear that Collo paten said he had it in his power to offer to excheng marstor Louel for Gouenor Skeen the Ginrol had no power to excheng any prisnors without the leaue of Congres but would send to Congres for leaue and did not doubt but that thay would consent and he told me I might tel you that if thay did mak the excheng you might go with Gouenor Sken but would not seand a flag one porpose.

yestorday Majir Leauenston was hear and said you had a mind to com to New york but all th[e] lades of his acquaintone was gon out of town and asked my consent for your comming hear as Mir'st Putnam and two Daughtors are hear be assured if you wil com you shall be hartely welcom and I think much more likely to acomplish the eand you wish for that is to see your father.

I am with the gratest respects yours etc.

ISRAEL PUTNAM³⁸

³⁸This is a holograph letter, but the letter that was sent, probably rewritten by Burr, is entirely different as may be seen by consulting the Memoirs of Burr, I, 88.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO AARON BURR.³⁹

SHEFFIELD 7 August 1776

MY DEAR BURR,—If you remember some eighteen months since you and I mutually engaged to correspond by letter. I told you then, and again repeat it that you was not to expect any thing either entertaining, or in any degree worth the trouble of perusing. what can any reasonable being expect from an inhabitant of such an obscure, remote, dead and dirty place as Sheffield to amuse, instruct or even to merit the attention of a young, gay, enterprising martial genius? I know you will expect nothing and I dare pawn my honor therefore that you will not either now or in future in this respect be disappointed.

You recollect perhaps that when I had the pleasure to see you here I informed you of a design to visit New York and the southward soon after, but my business immediately called me to Boston and on my return I was obliged to go with the Militia to Peekskill, from there should have visited New York and my friends there had not some foolish accidents prevented. I now think (as soon as I can leave home) of making a tour there, but this like other futurities is wholly uncertain.

The very insignificant figure I make in my own opinion in this day of political and martial exertions is a very humbling consideration. to be stoically indifferent to the great events that are now unfolding is altogether inconsistent not only with my inclination, but even with my natural constitution, and to pursue a line of conduct which indicates such a disposition, I mean my continuance at home at this time, (destitute of business) is a mystery for which, (remember I mean not to libel the Colony to which I belong) I will endeavor to account. amidst the confusion which was at once the cause and consequence of a dissolution of Government, men's minds as well as actions became regardless of all legal restraint. all power reverted into the hands of the people, who were determined that every one should be convinced that the *People* were the fountain of all honor, the first thing they did was to withdraw all confidence from every one who had ever any connection with Government, the necessity of which was even called in

³⁹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 92.

question. Lawyers were universally almost represented as the pest of society, all persons who would pay court to these extravagant and unreasonable prejudices became their idols. Abilities were represented as dangerous and Learning as a Crime or rather the certain forerunner of all political extravagances. they really demonstrated that they were possessed of creating power, *for by the Word of their Power they created great men out of nothing, but I cannot say that all was very well.* observing these violent symptoms, I could not persue that which was the only road to preferment, and I have never had an offer to go into the Army except the one I accepted, while I have seen in more than one instance men honored with the command of a Regiment for heading mobbs. well this poor stuff I believe has troubled you long enough. pray say you what is it to me why you have not been in the Army? why nothing my dear Friend, but it is something to me. you know my Dear Burr I love you or I should not submit such nonsense to your perusal. if Mr. Swift still lives give him my best compliments. Pamela desires me to tell you she loves you. Answer this letter and thereby oblige your sincere Friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

[Memorandum] Theod. Sedgwick Aug. 7th 1776. Rec'd Aug. 11th N. York.

JOSEPH SPENCER TO DAVID WOOSTER

NORTH CASTLE,⁴⁰ 3d December, 1776

DEAR GENERAL,—I have sent a light horseman to know whether you have any further intelligence from the Enemy since yesterday. Trust that you reconnoiter the Eastern or Seaside Road. I keep constant scouts out in the several roads from the North River to the post road from White plain towards the Enemy. we have deserters from Rogers of late daly one or more, by their accounts he continues yet where he has been for some time which is about a mile and half from Kings bridge on the post road, the late accounts of the deserters is that he is about moving but uncertain where.

I designd to have made you a visit before now so that we might have had opportunity to have confer'd on the subject of

⁴⁰Westchester county.

scouts and other proper measures of defence but as I am at present full of business and expect soon to move, fear I shall not have the pleasure of waiting on you soon. I am Sir your humble Servant,

JOS. SPENCER.

M: Gen'l Worster.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO DAVID WOOSTER AND SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS.

NORTH CASTLE, January 12, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—The Massachusetts troops are fast collecting here. Matters are ripening. I expect we may soon proceed to Kingsbridge. It is of the greatest importance that the particular state of each division be known to the other. We therefore have forwarded this by express and beg to know what number you have and may in a day or two expect; What quantity of ammunition—What stores of provision and what are now your ideas of our intended expedition.

I have the pleasure to be here with General Scot who joins with me in wishing you the greatest happiness. Adieu Dear Sir,

B. LINCOLN.

General Wooster and General Parsons.

WILLIAM HEATH TO DAVID WOOSTER.

KINGSTREET, February 5th, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—A grand Scout, a grand Forage is to be attempted to morrow morning. In order to effect the former, which is to be kept a secret, under the pretence of a piquet for the night, Col. Enos, Lt. Col. Root, 2 Captains 4 Subalterns, 8 Serjeants and 100 men from your Division, with one days provisions cooked, are to parade at such convenient place as you may think proper, so as to march and be at Stephen Wards precisely at one o'clock to morrow morning. They will be there joined by Major Bryant, and 280 men from General Lincoln's Division, and 120 under Major Pain from the New York Division. When Col. Enos will take the Command of the whole.

To effect the latter which is to take off if possible all the Forage in New Rochell, 300 men properly officer'd from your Division must by 8 o'clock tomorrow morning march and form a line between East Chester and Williams's in such manner as to secure the Foragers whilst taking off the Forage in New Rochell. They must continue formed until the teams are loaden and drove off. The Regiments nearest New Rochell who do not go on duty had best be kept near their Quarters, and ready to turn out if occasion should require it.

I am Dear Sir Yours respectfully,

W. HEATH.

Each man of both parties is to draw one jill of rum.

JOTHAM MOULTON TO DAVID WOOSTER.

NORTH STREET near WHITE PLAINS,

February 10th, 1777.

SIR,—A court of enquiry was appointed by his honor Major General Heath, to enquire into the conduct of Colo. Cook, on the 26 January last.

The Court met, and saw cause of adjournment; but by reason of the members being called into different departments, a sufficient number could not be obtained, to form a proper Court.

You will therefore please to conduct in such a manner, as you shall think most adviseable. I am Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOTHAM MOULTON, President of said Court.

[Addressed] Hon'ble Major General Wooster, Rye-Neck.

[Memorandum] Col. Enos, President.

Lt. Col. Henaker	} Members.
Lt. Col. Gallup	
Lt. Col. Root	
Major Russell	

WILLIAM DUER⁴¹ TO DAVID WOOSTER.

CROMWELLS, 7th March, 1777.

SIR,—We have received certain intelligence from good authority that 16 Light Horse and about 100 Footmen have

⁴¹(1747-1799), a member of the Continental Congress.

been up yesterday about a mile above Phillipse's: as there is a considerable quantity of stock betwixt our Advanced Post at Wards, and Phillipse's which will probably fall into the Enemy's power unless removed in time, we beg the favor of you to detach 200 of the Connecticut Troops to Ward's House by 10 o'clock to morrow morning, to co-operate with us in moving the stock. As the distance from Rye Neck to Wards is 10 miles it will be necessary that the Troops sett off on their march very early in the morning. I send a proper person to pilot the Detachment.

I am sir by Order and with respect Your obedient humble
Servant,

WM. DUER.

[Addressed] To the Hon'ble Major Gen'l Wooster, Rye-Neck.

JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO AARON BURR⁴²

Cakiat October 1st 1777.

SIR,—I this moment received your favor of this date. The Enemy have landed at Powler's Hook in great force. I am apprehensive they mean attacking fort Montgomery by the way of the Clove. I have sent my baggage and some forces there. The Enemy must be attended to. You will therefore halt in the nearest place that is convenient, upon the receipt of this. Keep a good lookout towards Newark, Elizabeth Town etc. or those places from whence they can march into Pumpton. Should you be in danger of being intercepted there, throw your party across the River in Pumpton, and defend the Bridge if practicable; If not, make the best retreat you can towards Morristown etc. But by no means proceed unless necessity urges, derived from the present object. In every thing else pursue your best diseretion.

I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

J. M. VARNUM.

Colo. Burr.

[Addressed] Lieut. Colonel Burr, on his March to Morris-town.

[Memorandum] General Varnum 1 October 1777.

⁴²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 118.

THOMAS CONWAY TO AARON BURR⁴³

25th October 3 o'clock in the evening.

SIR,—I have received a letter from Capt. Kearsley respecting the settlement of the ranks of the Captains and subalterns. I could not give him an immediate answer because I was then attending a court martial. I wish this matter was settled as soon as possible to the satisfaction of the officers of your Regiment. The General officers being employed in several courts martial which along with the camp duty will take up all their time I think you had best apply to the adjutant General know from him the manner in which the ranks of the Virginia and pennsylvania officers have been settled and arrange accordingly at least pro tempore the ranks of your gentlemen.

I am sir your most obedient humble Servant,

T. CONWAY.

[Addresses] To Lt. Col. Burr.

[Memorandum] 25th Oct. 1777. Gen'l Conway.

W. MALCOM TO AARON BURR⁴⁴

YORK TOWN, June 16th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just now met with Capt. Kiersley, which enables me to let you know that I here. Sent by General Gates to Congress on a variety of busseness.

I have consented to do duty as Ad'j General to the Northern Army, on conditions of holding my Regiment and that it should come to the Northward—the first agreed to, the last according to events.

Nine of the sixteen Ad'l Regiments stand on the new establishment—of the strongest. if our come within that description it will be one. As General Washington writes General Gates that he cannot conveniently spare you at this time, I recommend your sending three or four officers to the State of York on the recruiting service. You know who will answer best and who can be best spared. And to recruit for the Regiment at large. I think I can provide you with some men.

⁴³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 119.

⁴⁴Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 125.

As I have not time either to pass thro' came or to write any other of the officers, do tell them how I am circumstanc'd, and offer them by best respects. I am happy to hear that Major Pawling is better.

I shall write from Pecks Kill very soon, and beg to hear from you. I ever am very sincerely, My Dear Sir, yours affectionately,

W. MALCOM.

[Addressed] Colonel Burr, Camp. Per favor of Capt. Kiersley.

LORD STIRLING TO AARON BURR.⁴⁵

BRUNSWICK July 6th 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I have your letter of yesterdays date; The Court Martial of which I am president is adjourned to Morris Town which will oblige me to go there tomorrow; I must therefore desire you will direct your letters with such intelligence as you may procure, to his Excellency General Washington who will be on the line of march with the Army. I am in haste your most obedient humble Servant,

STIRLING.

Lt. Col: Burr.

General Washington desires me to add that he wishes you would employ three, four or more persons to go to Bergen heights Wesashack, Hooubouck or any of the heights there about convenient to observe the motions of the Enemy's shipping and to give him the earliest intelligence thereof, wether up the River particularly; in short every thing possible that can be obtained. Yours etc.

STIRLING.

[Addressed] To Lieut. Colonel Burr, Elizabeth Town.

BARON DE KALB TO W. MALCOM.⁴⁶

Camp near CROTEN BRIDGE

July 19th 1778.

Col. Malcom's Regt. is orderd to march at two o'clock to morrow morning to the fort at west Point on Hudsons River

⁴⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 129.

⁴⁶Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 131.

with the Regt. commanded by Lt. Col. Parker which it is to joyn on the Road near [torn] Bridge the Commander of these [torn] will make all convenient dispatch [torn] Ten miles a day as water and g[round] admit.

The BARON DE K[ALB].

[Addressed] To Commander Malcolm, [torn] Reg't, 9 o'clock P. M.

CERTIFICATE

State of New York.

A Flagg is hereby given to Lieut. Colo. Burr, or such other person as he shall appoint, to proceed to the City of New York or such other place within the Enemy's Lines as he may think proper, with the Sloop Liberty having on board the following persons Inhabitants of this State who affect Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, viz't William Smith, Cadwallader Colden Esqr. and Mrs. Rostiff I. Etting, four Negroe Slaves (two women and a child included), the Family of Wm. Smith Esqr. and a Son of Cad'r Colden Esq. who are to be landed and left within the Enemy's lines. The Hands to navigate the Sloop viz. P. Webbers Man Abraham and Rupp, return with all convenient expedition. Hands Major Edwards two Servants Given at North Castle in Westchester County this 2d Day of August 1778. three D'm and Fifes Attendants.

GEO. CLINTON, Gov'r of the
State of N. York.

Captain Redman has permission to attend the Flagg on private business.

Mrs. Prevost and Miss De Visme with one Man Servant in consequence of Lord Stirling's Leave to pass to N. York and return are admitted on board this Flagg.

A. BURR.

John McDonald Man Servant of Wm. Smith is permitted to attend him and return with the Flagg.

[Endorsed] Flagg of Truce 2d August 1778.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON TO JOHN LIVINGSTON.⁴⁷

PRINCETON, 29th September, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with your kind letter of the 12th instant.

Whether Mr. Erkelens has studied the German Divines I know not. But he is certainly a very voluminous writer. In consideration however of the fairness of his character and his being a stranger; as well as from the respect which I shall always pay to your recommendations, I should not hesitate a moment to serve him in any way consistent with the attention due to my own character. As his affair is circumstanced, I do not know that I can be of any service to him. It will come to Congress by way of Appeal. His Counsel at Law will represent it in the most advantageous manner. The Congress must determine it according to its merits, and not the character of the [liti]gants. For in this instance also, "circumcision ava-[ileth] nothing, nor uncircumcision." And how far it would be proper for a third person to write on the subject to that Body, or to any of the Members (who collectively constitute the Court) is a point of great delicacy. But if I can be of any use to him in a way less exceptionable I shall befriend him with the greatest alacrity.

I am rejoiced to hear of Cozin Sally's recovery. She always was a favourite of mine, notwithstanding her manifold unmerciful pinches, to which both my arms can bear testimony; and two witnesses, you know, are sufficient in all Courts of Law and Equity.

Your letter really reminds me of old times; and I have a thousand things to tell you; but a thousand things, I have not leisure to *write*, leaving the scarcity of paper out of the question. Whenever it shall please God, that the British plunderers, like Judas Iscariot, shall go to their own place, I hope to see you in your ruined Metropolis. But the rascals have so recently [set] themselves down in Bergen County (I hope they

⁴⁷Gosuivus Erkelens came from Holland to America and offered to place a loan with Congress. That body declined, but mentioned him to Franklin, nothing came of his offer, but in 1787 he was residing at Chatham, Conn., possessed of a cobalt mine, in which he sought to interest Pennsylvania. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), XII, 1106, 1246. *Calendar of the Franklin Papers*, III, 340. There are many of his letters from 1779 to 1783 in the Trumbull Papers.

will teach mynheer Cuyper better divinity than he preached last year) and to all appearances, with such an *animo possidendi*, as if they still preferred this Country to their own. We have at least 3000 of our Militia in arms; but that is not sufficient, without continental succour, to dislodge them.

I have not been with my own family above two weeks in two years. The business I have gone through, the hardships I have borne, the lodging and diet I have been obliged to submit to, and the numerous stratagems laid for my life, which I have escaped, are scarcely credible. Through all these scenes, I have not [had a] days indisposition, weariness, or discouragement [so] remarkably has Providence supported me (for which [I] can never be sufficiently thankful) and I trust in some measure, made me useful to my Country; tho' (or rather for which very reason) the Tories are ready to devour me and all. I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

WILL LIVINGSTON.

The Rev'd Dr. John Livingston.

P. S. The inclosed covers some accounts and a letter from Philip P. Livingston with and to Philip I. Livingston, respecting their joint Estate in Jamaica, which were taken in a prize vessel, and delivered into our Court of Admiralty; and which you will please to forward to the owner as great a Tory as he is.

J. WADSWORTH TO AARON BURR.

PHILADELPHIA, October 26. 1778.

DEAR BURR,—Your favour of the 22d was just now handed me by Maj. Edwards. I wish you better health and need eno. to wish my selfe better. I am but so-so. shall set out for Elisabeth Town as soon as Congress will let me. I am more much more than tired of this place. I like your prescription will attend too it as soon as possible. my respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Peteeck and family and all other friends at E. T. I can fix no time to come their but it must it shall be soon adieu. God Bless You etc.,

J. WADSWORTH.

I am not in a hurry but Your Boy is.

[Addressed] Col. Aa. Burr, Elisabeth Town.

JAMES MONROE TO MRS. THEODOSIA PREVOST.⁴⁸

PHILADELPHIA November 8th 1778.

A young lady who either is or pretends to be in love, is, you know, my dear Mrs. Provost, the most unreasonable creature in existence. If she looks a smile or a frown which does not immediately give or deprive you of happiness (at least to appearance) your company soon becomes very insipid. Each feature has its beauty and each attitude the graces or you have no judgment. But if you are so stupidly insensible of her charms as to deprive your tongue and eyes of every expression of admiration and not only to be silent respecting her but devote them to an absent object, she cannot receive an higher insult nor would she if not restrain'd by politeness refrain from open resentment. The mildest of the sex feel an involuntary resentment and cannot excuse such want of politeness. Upon this principle I think I stand excused for not writing you from B. Ridge. I propos'd it however and after meeting with opposition in which to obtain her point she promised to visit the little Hermitage and make my excuse herself, I took occasion to turn the conversation to a different object and plead for permission to go to France. I gave up in one instance and she certainly ought in the other. But writing a letter and going to France are very different you will perhaps say. She objected to it and all the arguments which a fond delicate unmarried lady could use she did not fail to produce against it. I plead the advantage I should derive from it; the personal improvement; the connections I should make. I told her she was not the only one on whom fortune did not smile in every instance. I produced examples from her own acquaintance and represented their situation in terms which sensibly affected both herself and Lady C. I painted a lady full of affection of tenderness and sensibility, separated from her husband for a series of time by the cruelty of the war; her uncertainty respecting his health, the pain and anxiety which must naturally arise from it. I represented in the most pathetic terms the disquietudes which from the nature of her connection might possibly intrude on her domestic retreat

⁴⁸Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 184.

I then rais'd to her view fortitude under distress; cheerfulness, life and gaiety in the midst of affliction. I hope you will forgive me my dear little friend if I produc'd you to give life to the image. The instance she own'd was applicable; she felt for you from her heart and she has a heart capable of feeling. she wished not a misfortune similar to yours but if I was resolved to make it so she would strive to imitate your example. I have now permission to go where I please, but you must not forget her. she and Lady C. promise to come to the Hermitage to spend a week or two; incourage her and represent the advantage I shall gain from travel. But why should I desire you to do what I know your own heart will dictate; for a heart so capable of friendship feels its own pain alleviated by alleviating that of another. But do not suppose that my attention is only taken up with my own affairs. I am too much attached ever to forget the Hermitage. Mrs. Duvall I hope is recovering and Kitty's indisposition is that of my nearest relation. Mrs. De Visme tho plain and open has delicate nerves; tell me her children are well and I know she has a flow of spirits; for her health depends intirely on theirs.

I was unfortunate in not being able to meet with the Governor. He was neither at Elizabeth Town, B. Ridge, Princeton nor Trenton. I have consulted with several Members of Congress on the occasion. They own the injustice but cannot interpose. "The laws of each State must govern itself." They cannot conceive the possibility of its taking place. General Lee says it must not take place and if he was an absolute Monarch he would issue an edict to prevent it.

I am introduc'd to the gentl'n I wish'd by Gen'l Lee in a very particular manner. I cannot determine with certainty what I shall do till my arrival in Virginia.

Make my compliments to Mrs. and Miss de Visme and believe me with the sincerest friendship yours affectionately,

JAS. MONROE.

UDNY HAY TO AARON BURR.

FISH KILL 8th January 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I was favoured with your very oblidging letter of the 6th inst. and return to you my sincere thanks for your

offers of friendship; Give me leave to assure you of a reciprocal inclination in that way, and must therefore insist as my first request, should an opportunity offer, you will freely indulge this inclination by putting it in my power to serve you; unacquainted with ceremony, and an utter abhorrer of every thing that wears the complexion of formality, I love to speak and be spoken to in the plain and undisguised stile of Friendship, totally free from unmeaning compliment or deceitfull flattery.

Your letter for Mr. Reeve shall be taken particular care of.

As you have now got the Post of Honour, accept of my sincere wishes you may reap the laurels I believe you deserve.

Should it be convenient indulge me now and then with a news paper from York: You see I can already ask favours, nor can I conclude without begging one more, which is that you will believe me to be with real esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

UDNY HAY.

[Addressed] Colonel A. Burr, commanding near White Plains.

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL TO AARON BURR⁴⁹

HEAD QUARTERS PEEKSKILL

January 15th 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favors of the 11th and 12th instant with sundry inclosures came duly to hand.

I am much mortified, that Captain Brown should have merited your putting him in arrest. But you have done your duty, for which accept my thanks.

If an officer commanding an outpost will not be very vigilant, he exposes his party to be butchered, as the unfortunate Colonel Baler lately experienced.

I am very sorry, the Militia have conducted so disorderly; but I wish you to deal tenderly with them, as they are brave and are very sore, by the plundering of the Tories. But support the honor of our arms and you own, by giving redress to the innocent and helpless.

⁴⁹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 144.

As the principal objects of your command are to protect the good people of these States, and prevent supplies going to the Enemy, you will not send out any parties, or make any excursions, but what are necessary for intelligence and the preservation of your parties, till further orders. Your own ideas on this subject fully meet my approbation.

In the mean time, let all the officers and men of your command, who are unacquainted with the ground, traverse it alternately, from flank to flank and as many miles in front as you may judge necessary.

The position of the whole, I leave to your own discretion, as circumstances shall arise.

A good Captain and twenty picked men of Nixon's, with two drums accompany this, to reinforce your left; and the orders are dispatched to Major Pawling for the Officers you wrote for.

One hundred pair of shoes will be sent to you by this snow.

Send up all Burgoyne's men, with a good corporal and small party of the nine months men, with the first deserters or prisoners.

The serjeant's parties of the Militia, who are to join you, will by their engagements be under the Continental Articles of war. If any of the Militia who may go out on scouts, or parties with your's, will not submit to the Articles of war and your orders, dont suffer them to go with them; nor to appropriate any plunder; but order it to be given to the Continental Troops, and those who shall submit to those Articles.

If any of the Militia marauder, send them up to me, with a guard. They must not be suffered to violate civil and military law. The Legislature is the proper authority, to enable them to make reprisals. For whatever disorders they commit in front of your lines, will be placed by the Enemy to your account.

In all doubtfull questions, which may arise on my orders as to the limit or legality of plunder, in your front, I authorise you, to be the *sole judge*. In the exercise of this trust, it is my wish, you should lean to the honor of our arms.

A surgeon is directed to attend your party; when he arrives, please to advise me of it, that I may be relieved from all anxiety about you, and your Corps.

If you are not supplied with rum, before a quantity of it arrives here, we shall not forget you.

If your Horsemen are mounted and appointed as well as your Horse Guides, they will receive the same pay.

If the oxen at Mr. Hunter's are not in working order, put them in the care of your Forage Master, till they are.

If you can get the articles taken from the inhabitants, in the late expedition restored; let the Militia off for that offence; when you get things in train, I flatter myself you will not have any future trouble with them. But the Officers of the Regular Troops, must be rigorously dealt with according to our martial Law.

As you and the Commissary will be in the rear of the whole, the nine months men, worse shod than the other troops may serve till I have more leisure to compleat your Corps.

Dont omit sending to me all the news papers you can procure.

I am so borne down with correspondence, I can only add, that I am Your affectionate humble Servant,

ALEX'R McDUGALL.

Lieut. Colonel Burr.

P. S. I fear the Piquets from your Parties are too far advanced from them. The distance ought not to exceed half a mile, at night. And the quarters of the Piquets should be changed every night, after dark—frequent patrols from each give the best security.

I submit it to your consideration whether it would not be of service, to have a quantity of old rags collected, at each party and piquet, for the Patrols to muffle their feet with in frosty weather, when there is no snow on the ground. It will prevent their being heard by the Enemy, and your's will hear those of the Enemy if there are any near them.

[Memorandum] Gen'l McDougall 15th Jan. 1779.

RICHARD PLATT TO AARON BURR.⁵⁰

HEAD QUARTERS PEEKSKILL

February 25th 1779.

SIR,—The General wishes you to detain the best officers and men for five compleat parties of 60. And as soon as Major Hull can be made acquainted with your Posts and the nature of the Command, he desires you will ride up to Head Quarters if there is no probability of a movement from below, and he will concert with you such measures as shall be thought expedient.

The Combustible Balls are not yet come to hand. 5 or 6 Boxes of Ammunition will be sent down to Tarry Town by water the first opportunity.

'Tis necessary that Doctor Eustis, if not at the Plains, should be sent for. I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

RICHARD PLATT, Adjt.

P. S. Please to inform the General whether Col. Poor's men have accomplish'd the business they were sent upon, or not.

Lieut. Colonel Burr.

MRS. J[ANET] MONTGOMERY⁵¹ TO AARON BURR.⁵²

RYHNBEEK, March 7. [1779]

SIR,—I should before this have answer'd your obliging letter had not the marriage of my eldest sister intirely taken up my time.

I now return you Sir, many thanks, for your kind offers of service. the sincerity with which they were made, would have allowed me to accept them without fears of giving you trouble, had I not determined to run no more risques, as I have been very unfortunate in my ventures that way.

You have awakened all my sencibility, by the praises you bestow'd on my unfortunate General. He was indeed an angle lent us, for a moment. Alas! for me! that this world was not more worthy of him, then had I still been the happiest of women; and his friends in stations more equal to their merits. Reflections like these imbitters continually each day as it

⁵⁰Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 155.

⁵¹Mrs. Richard Montgomery.

⁵²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 169.

passes, but I trust in the same Mercifull hand which has held me from sinking, in my extreem calamity, that he will still suport, and make me more worthy of a blessed meeting hereafter.

Can you excuse Sir the overflowings of a heart that knows not where to stop when on a subject so interesting:

Mr. Tatard tells me you mean to quit the Service. When ever that happens you will doubtless have leasure to pay us a visit, which I wish you to beleive will give real pleasure to Sir, your obliged,

J. MONTGOMERY.

[Addressed] Colonel Burr. To the care of Col. Hays, Fishkills. Rec'd Fishkill 21st March '79, and forwarded by Sir, your humble servant. S. Loudon. To the care of Gen'l McDougall.

[Memorandum] Mrs. Montgomery 7th March 1779.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MRS. THEODOSIA PROVOST.⁵³
HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK
19th May 1779.

MADAM,—It is much to be regreted, that the pleasure of obeying the first emotions in favor of misfortune, is not always in our power. I should be happy, could I consider myself at liberty to comply with your request, in the case of your brother, Mr. Peter De Visme. But, as I have heretofore taken no direction in the disposal of marine prisoners, I cannot with propriety, interfere on the present occasion; however great the satisfaction I should feel in obliging, where you are interested. Your good sense will perceive this, and find a sufficient excuse in the delicacy of my situation.

I have the honor to be, Madam, Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Provost.

[Addressed] Mrs. Provost, Hermitage, Paramus.

WILLIAM HULL⁵⁴ TO AARON BURR.

29 May 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of this day have just received. shall send Dyckman this afternoon. Am sorry you do not

⁵³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 186.

⁵⁴(1753-1825), later a brigadier general in the war of 1812.

make me a visit, as the distance is small. Shall not trouble you with any dispatches to the eastward at present. Have this day applied to the General for permission to make a tour to Connecticut, and should it be granted, shall hope to see you at Hartford. If not, must beg you to mention me to any acquaintance of both sexes as affectionately as it is possible for them to ask after me. The ground you so long defended is now left to the depredation of the Enemy, and our friends in distressing circumstances. However they have good spirits, and are determined to defend themselves.

Since you left me, have had an excellent body of troops, armed and accoutred in the best manner. Am now at the Mouth of Croton with only two Companies. I am Dear Sir with much esteem your very humble Servant,

WM. HULL.

[Addressed] Col. Burr, Peekskill.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO AARON BURR⁵⁵

Col. Burr being on urgent public business, must be put across the Ferry to Fish Kill⁵⁶ Landing without a moments delay. Given at Pompton 3rd June 1779.

A'R ST. CLAIR, MAJ'R GEN'L.

The Qr. Master and Commissary, at Newbury or N. Windsor will receive and observe as my orders, the verbal directions delivered by Col. Burr. Given at Pompton 3d June 1779.

A'R ST. CLAIR, *Maj'r Gen'l.*

[Memorandum] Genl. St. Clair 3rd June 1779.

⁵⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 172-173.

⁵⁶Noted on the back of these commissions, in the same hand writing is the following: The original Design of the Enemy was probably an Attack on the Forts in the Highlands. The Spirit of the Country (which is really to be admired) the Delay occasioned by contrary Winds, and rapid Approach of our Men rendered this design abortive. Part of the Enemies Force (it is said those who were on the Virginia Expedition) have returned to York—sixteen Sail lay still in Haverstraw Bay and near it—no very large Ships among them—the Enemy lay on both sides Kings Ferry—are erecting on each side a Work evidently with Design to maintain a secure Post at Kings Ferry—300 Men may keep an Army at Bay for many Weeks several of the new Corps with all the Horse lay at and near Dobbs Ferry—Gen. Washington is this Day at the Forts—near the Army in the Clove—upwards of 4000 Militia of this State are now in Service—The civil officers and Exempts of every kind are out with their Knapsacks and Muskets—this has a happy Effect on the People.

[Memorandum] Genl. St. Clair 3rd June 1779.

ROBERT TROUP TO AARON BURR.⁵⁷

PRINCETON, April 27. 1780.

MY DEAR BURR,—I wrote to you yesterday and happened to put the letter into the Post Office a little after the post had gone. In that letter I requested you to come here as soon as possible for it was highly probable that I should leave Princeton entirely and determine to follow our original plan. The event has confirmed my conjecture. I came here from General Morris's yesterday and exerted all the influence I was master of to get new lodgings; but could not, without lodging in the town which would be disagreeable to me on many accounts. I have now given over all thoughts of staying here and having an excellent pretext for changing my ground I shall write to Mr. Stockton who is still in Philadelphia and acquaint him with my intentions of going away. Nothing is therefore wanting but yourself with a horse and chair to make me completely happy. I wish to God I could push off eastward immediately but I cannot. I have no horse, neither is it practicable to borrow or hire one. I must then wait for you and I request you in the most pressing terms to lose not a moment's time in coming for me at General Morris's about six miles from this at Sourland near Colonel Vandyke's Mill on the road to Somerset where I shall wait impatiently for you. I am extremely uneasy lest this should reach you after you have left home and begun your journey northward. In that case I shall be very unfortunate and to prevent too great a delay I shall write to Mr. Reeves at Litchfield and enclose him a letter for you and desire him to forward it to you wherever you are with all expedition. I shall likewise enclose another letter for you and send it to Mrs. Prevost who will be kind enough to give it to you the moment you arrive there.

If we once get together I hope we shall not be soon parted. It would afford me the greatest satisfaction to live with you during life.

How shall I have my trunk transported to the eastward? On this and many other matters I shall want to consult you when we meet. God grant our meeting may be soon. Adieu!

⁵⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 199.

You have my best and fervent wishes for the recovery of your health and every other happiness. My compliments to all friends.

ROB. TROUP.

P.S. I can't think of studying [until] I am settled with you. Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Col. Aaron Burr at Mr. Titus Osmer's, Middletown, Connecticut. Per post.

[Memorandum] R. Troup, 27th Apl. Rec'd F. Field 12th May. post.

SILAS DEANE TO BARON ROTTENBOURG.

PARIS November 15th 1780.

SIR,—I received your letter of the 25th ulto. only two days since, and should have replied to your former in course had it been in my power to do it satisfactorily, which it was not, nor unhappily is at present. I know that the State of New York have passed an Act for the Sequestration of Estates of certain Absentees who have joined the Enemy, but how extensive the Act is, I do not know. when I left America (I had remained for six months in Virginia previous to my sailing) I had not heard of any estates having been put to sale. I have not nor can I procure a copy or abstract of their Act, nor have I ever seen it. I presume, however, that your readiest way to proceed, is to go direct to America, and apply to the Government of New York; or if you cannot do that to send over to the Governor a State of your Claim and inform of your intentions of settling and of becoming a subject of that State as soon as possible.⁵⁸

The Manufacture of Salt Petre is certainly an object of very considerable importance, and I think must at all times answer well in America, every new branch of manufacture and commerce introduced is of real service to a new country like America; and therefore I wish you to succeed in your attempts of that kind. I have the honor to be with respect, Sir your most obedient and very humble Servant,

S. DEANE.

[Addressed] A Monsieur Le Baron Rottenbourg, ancien Colonel et actuellement directeur des Vitrières Royales à Mont Aimart en Dauphiné.

⁵⁸In 1786 the Baron wrote to Franklin about some lands in New York state owned by his brother-in-law Charles Williams, "lately deceased."

Certificate of Marriage.⁵⁹

I do hereby certify that Aaron Burr of the State of N. York Esqr. and Theodosia Prevost of Bergen County, State of N. Jersey widow were by me joined in lawful wedlock on the second day of July instant. Given under my hand this sixth day of July 1782.

B'n VAN DER LEUDE.

JOHN SLOSS HOBART TO AARON BURR.

DEAR SIR,—I had taken a present my sincerest congratulations on the event⁶⁰ which Fredrick this moment announced to me, which I do most heartily, when gov'r Clinton desired me to present you his compliments of felicitation on the occasion and to inform you that the pressing solicitude of the Commander in Chief to prevent all communication with New York renders it altogether improper for him to comply with your request at present. he would have written to you himself but is very much hurried as the Legislature is on the point of adjourning.

It is so dark I can scarcely see sufficient to assure you that I am with the warmest esteem, Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN SLOSS HOBART.

Coll. Burr.

[Addressed] Coll. Aaron Burr. Mr. Provost.

GENERAL SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO CAPTAIN THOMAS WOOSTER.

25th November, 1782.

SIR,—I have left ninety pounds for you which comes to 405£ if I have computed right @ 4/6. if you can send me 200£ or 250£ more at the same rate I believe I can give you the money in about a month. I have left a receipt with my wife which you will please to sign on receiving the money, and leave me a line whither I may depend on 200 or 300£ more: and when that I may not disappoint you in the cash: I shall know this week when I can have the lands and will inform you to provide for that event in season.

I am Sir Your obedient Servant,

SAM'L H. PARSONS.

⁵⁹Parton states that the marriage was performed by Rev. David Bogart—obviously an error in the light of the above certificate.

⁶⁰This refers, no doubt, to Burr's marriage, July 2d, 1782.

P. S. The notes for this money must be had by the last of next week: if you cant procure them by that time: I must not take them as the money or notes must be returned to the owner by that time. you will know whither you can take the money on that condition.

S. P.

32 half Joannes £76.16

44 Dollars 13: 4

£90: 0

I have sent you £90.0.0 if you cant comply with the time as above expressed you will please to return it. Yours,

S. H. PARSONS.

SAMUEL ALLEYN OTIS TO AARON BURR.

Mr. Otis's Compliments to Coll Bur and Lady and thanks them for their polite reception of him at Albany.

Should it comport with their convenience or pleasure nothing would make him more happy than an opportunity of returning their civilities at Boston, and hopes the apprehensions of the river becomeing unpassable from the approaching warmth of the day will be his apology for an early and unceremonious departure.

Saturday Morning, [March, 1783].

My Dear Sir

I was closeing the within when your smileing lovely boy handed yours of this morning and am mortified at the trouble I have given him and yourself. be assured Sir a heart easily impressed with friendly offices, will not forget yours, and the fresh obligations you lay me under. I had such a character of Mrs. Burr as induced me to expect the graces of a most amiable person in your good Lady. I think better of the world for giving the tribute of praise where am convinced from my own observation it belongs.

Present me with every expression of respect and esteem to her.

You know my original plan was to be early in the week at Pittsfield. Some appointments of business must be observed.

Which as I travel slowly will be my apology for not returning.
But in the pleasing expectation of meeting you at Cloverie am
Your most humble Servant

SAM A. OTIS

JAMES RIVINGTON TO AARON BURR.

N. YORK Oct. 1. 1783.

Permit me, Good Sir, to apply to you for a copy of the
Indictment preferred against me. I wish to see its purport
before I leave N. York, which I intend to do on the 16th Inst.
I wrote to you some time since but my letter was not properly
directed. I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant.

JAMES RIVINGTON.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esq., Attorney-at-Law, at Albany.

Tuesday Evening [May , 1785.]⁶¹

Mrs. Wickham just called to tell me of an opportunity to
Chester, how joyfully I embrace it. I had a most insupportable
impatience to communicate to you my gratitude and thanks
for your last visit, it was a cordial to my health and spirits, a
balm to my soul. my mind is flushed with pleasing hopes—
ten thousand tender thoughts rush to my pen, but the bearer
may prove faithless. I will suppress them to a happier
moment, and anticipate the dear indulgence.

The holidays are a check to finishing, the family as you left
it, Their health and spirits encrease daily. B. industry
and utility is striking to the family and strangers. Johnston
returned yesterday. your letter was as eagerly read as tho'
I had not seen you. write when you have leisure, if it does not
reach me immediately it will serve to divert some tedious
moment in a future absence—even when you are at home
engrossed by business, I frequently find a singular pleasure in
perusing those testimonies of affection. I find I am con-
tinually speaking of myself. I can only account for it from
Aaron's having persuaded me 'tis his favorite subject, and the
extreme desire I have to please him enduces me to pursue it.
I take no walks but up one stairs and down the other, the
situation of my house will not admit of my seeing many

⁶¹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 260.

visitors. I hope some arrangements will be accomplished by the next week.

A packet from Sill. he writes like a happy man, not the happy man of a day, or I am much deceived in him. She is certainly to be ranked among the fortunate. I wish she may be sensible of her lot.

I have fixt the time of seeing you till saturday. I will hope the best. I cannot extend my calculations beyond it, four days of your absence is an age to come. don't be too solicitous pour la visite d'une jeune personne. J'en suis parfaitement dégoûtée, evites la c'il est possible. My compliments to your chum, and who else you please. pensez avec tendresse de
la votre.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr.

[Memorandum] Sop:—May 85. Chester.

Tuesday Evening, [27th Sept. 1785].⁶²

I have counted the hours till evening, since that the minutes and am still on the watch the stage not arrived; 'tis a cruel delay your health, your dear health your tender frame how are they supported? anxiety obliterates every other idea, every noise stops my pen, my heart flutters with hope and fear, the pavement from this to Capes are kept warm by the family—every eye and ear ingrossed by expectation—my mind in too much trepidation to write. I resume my pen after another messenger in vain. I will try to tell you that those you love are well, that the Boys are very diligent, Ireson gone to West Chester. My new medicine will I flatter myself prove a lucky one. Sally amazingly encreased Fream at work at the roof, he thinks it too flat to be secured. The back walls of the house struck thro' with the late rain. M. Y. still at Miss W. You must not expect to find dancing on Thursday night, I should think it a degree of presumption to make the necessary preparations without knowing the state of your health. Should this account prove favorable, I still think it best to delay it as the stage is very irregular in its return, that of Saturday did not arrive till Sunday morning. brought an unfavorable account of the roads. thus you prob-

⁶²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 271.

ably would not partake, nor would I wish spectators to check my vigilance, or divide that attention which is ever insufficient when thou art the object. O! my Aaron how impatient I am to welcome thy return, to anticipate thy will, and receive thy loved commands.

The clock strikes eleven, no stage. My letter must go. I have been three hours writing or attempting to write this imperfect scrawl. The Children desire me to speak their affection. Mamma will not be forgot, she really shares my anxiousness. Tout jour plus ardemment

la votre.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esqr., Albany,⁶³ per stage.

ELISHA BOUDINOT TO AARON BURR.

NEW ARK 18 June, 1789.

Sir,—Mr. Warmsly has returned from Mr. Ogilvie who insists upon the Execution of Schoonmaker's being discharged first. Will you therefore be kind enough to send by Mr. Burnet a calculation of the debt and costs due on that execution, as they are to meet on Saturday to endeavor to settle it.

I am with esteem, Dear Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

ELISHA BOUDINOT.

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Col. Aaron Burr, Counsellor-at-law, New York. Favored by Mr. Burnet.

TO MRS. AARON BURR

Philada, 26th Apr, 1792

I have at length the pleasure to assure you that both houses of Congress have concurred in a resolution to adjourn on the fifth of May, which is I think Saturday of next week. I could have wished an earlier day, yet it is a great relief to me to look forward to a certain time. I was so fortunate as to have been in Senate Yesterday to promote this desirable object.

The mail which left you on Tuesday Morning brought me no letter from you, of which indeed I need not to inform you, it is not amiss however that you should know the disappointment to me.

⁶³The word "Albany" is crossed out and "New York" written in another hand.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams left this place on Tuesday and will be in New York about the time this will reach you. You will not forget the rest.

My Confessor is to be with me this Morning to settle terms.

Most Affect. Yrs.

A. BURR.

I have formed some very hostile resolutions if you do not continue the Use of certain remedies:—resolutions which are perhaps most easily formed, and kept, at the Distance of 100 Miles.

Mrs. Burr, No. 4 Broadway,
New York.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO AARON BURR.⁶⁴

PHILADELPHIA, September 24th, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—This letter will be handed to you by Mr. Beckly. He possesses a fund of information about men and things, and what is more in favor of his principles, he possesses the confidence of our two illustrious patriots Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison.

The republican *ferment* continues to work in our State, and the time I think is approaching very fast when we shall universally reprobate the maxim of sacrificing public justice and national gratitude to the interested ideas of stockjobbers and brokers whether in or out of the legislature of the United States.

Your friends every where look to you to take an active part in removing the monarchical rubbish of our government. It is time to *speak out*—or we are undone. The Association in Boston augurs well. Do feed it by a letter to Mr. S. Adams. My letter will serve to introduce you to him, if enclosed in one from yourself.

Have you got the deed completed? I hope nothing will prevent an issue being given to that business this fall.

Mrs. Rush joins in best Compliments to Mrs. Burr with Dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

P.S. Mr. Burke left the lodgings you looked at last Saturday.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esqr., New York. Mr. Beckley.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO AARON BURR.⁶⁵

TH. JEFFERSON presents his respectful compliments to Colo. Burr and is sorry to inform him it has been concluded to be improper to communicate the correspondence of *existing ministers*. he hopes this will, with Colo. Burr, be his sufficient apology.

Jan. 20, 1793.

[Addressed] Colo. Burr.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO AARON BURR⁶⁶

[1794]

DEAR SIR,—I send you the Massachusetts Laws from 1692 to 1768. Page 125 and 126 is the law which admits persons to become inhabitants upon twelve months residence if not warned. A preceeding law page 21 had made it only three months and [althoug]h repealed defines the word *residing*. Read also the law page 289. Strong said that the law of 1701 page 126 was virtually repealed by a certain temporary law of 1767 which he had not. I strongly suspect the accuracy of his information on that head; And I believe that the law of 1789 is the first which made a change and also introduced the distinction of Citizens. German Servants must have acquired settlement in common with others and many were imported. See page 342. You will find page 122 the word Inhabitant used with that of *Sojourner* in a general sense. Page 338 the same word applied to inhabitant of a County etc. A distinction is made between inhabiting and residing pages 24 and 207. I have not New Hampshire laws.

The Laws of Pennsylvania are clear and explicit. Please to compare the attachment laws in volume of Provincial laws page 44 and 122 with Laz. Barne's case Del. reports which is grounded upon them and you will find that under the province residing and inhabitants were synonymous.

In Vol. of State Laws, please to read page [burned out] Sect. 2d. says all male white inhabitants and sect. 7th by the exception sheweth the general meaning of the word inhabitant. Page 163 read the 5th Sect. principally and you will find it to

⁶⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 331.

⁶⁶Ib. p. 406.

be a copy of the Art. of Conf. substituting white for free. I will call on you about ten o'clock. Yours,

A. G.⁶⁷

[Addressed] Colo. Burr, Corner of 4th and Walnut Streets.

RICHARD PLATT TO AARON BURR

NEW YORK January 12th 1797.

DEAR SIR,—My prospects detailed you in yesterday's letter relative to money for the two houses mentioned, are realized. I am to receive two hundred Guineas this week—the residue in 30 and 60 days in unexceptionable paper. Thus I am relieved on that head, and now wait only for the maturing other things, and the sailing of the Vessell, which I apprehend cannot take place for a week to come, owing to the ice in the Harbour. This induces a hope that we shall meet again before my departure. If we should not, you must get, give and send after me such letters as will assist my operations and views in France, from your friends. I have nothing more to tell you about this day, only that Mrs. P. is better, and Miss A. very well—both desire regards, with your affectionate,

RICHARD PLATT.

Write me always under cover to John Aspinwall.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Senator in Congress, Philadelphia. Post.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO AARON BURR.

DEAR SIR,—As I wished the cause of Bayard vs Breese and others to be regularly at issue and as the Chancellor could not readily be come at to procure from him an order to serve Subpoenas on the Clerk in Court, I sent you a request some time since to file rejoinders and Mr. Provost informed me you would be so obliging as to have it done. I have not, however, received any notice of its having been done. I will thank you

⁶⁷Noted on this letter is the following:

"Mr. Taylor of Virginia to Col. Burr, in a note across the Table in Senate U. States, in the case of Gallatin says—

"We shall leave you to reply to *King*: 1st. Because you desire it; 2d. All depends upon it. No one else *can do it*, and the audience will expect it. If, too, you will see the 2d page of the Kentucky Constitution, it may be pressed upon Edwards. Gallatin has it in manuscript."

"The preceding *two pages*, are in the hand writing of Albert Gallatin, as the initials to the letter show.

particularly to have it done in the course of the day, as my situation has rendered me culpably negligent.

Your Obedient Servant,

ALEX'R HAMILTON.

Thursday. [1797]

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO AARON BURR.⁶³

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1800.

Dear Sir

Although we have not official information of the votes for President & Vice President and cannot have until the first week in Feb. yet the state of the votes is given on such evidence as satisfies both parties that the two Republican candidates stand highest. from S. Carolina we have not even heard of the actual vote; but we have learnt who were appointed electors, and with sufficient certainty how they would vote. it is said they would withdraw from yourself one vote. it has also been said that a General Smith of Tennessee had declared he would give his 2d. vote to Mr. Gallatin; not from any indisposition towards you, but extreme reverence to the character of Mr. G. it is also surmised that the vote of Georgia will not be entire. yet nobody pretends to know these things of a certainty, and we know enough to be certain that what it is surmised will be withheld will still leave you 4 or 5 votes at least above Mr. A. however it was badly managed not to have arranged with certainty what seems to have been left to hazard. it was the more material because I understand several of the high flying federalists have expressed their hope that the two republican tickets may be equal, & their determination in that case to prevent a choice by the H. of R. (which they are strong enough to do) and let the government devolve on a President of the Senate. decency required that I should be so entirely passive during the late contest that I never once asked whether arrangements had been made to prevent so many from dropping votes intentionally as might frustrate half the republican wish; nor did I doubt till lately that such has been made.

⁶³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," Vol. 2, p. 67.

While I must congratulate you, my dear Sir, on the issue of this contest, because it is more honourable and doubtless more grateful to you than any station within the competence of the chief magistrate, yet for myself, and for the substantial service of the public, I feel most sensibly the loss we sustain of your aid in our new administration. it leaves a chasm in my arrangements, which cannot be adequately filled up. I had endeavored to compose an administration whose talents, integrity, names & dispositions should at once inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind, and ensure a perfect harmony in the conduct of the public business. I lose you from the list, & am not sure of all the others. should the gentlemen who possess the public confidence decline taking a part in their affairs, and force us to take up persons unknown to the people, the evil genius of this country may realize his avowal that 'he will beat down the administration.'—the return of Mr. Van Benthuyzen, one of your electors, furnishes me a confidential opportunity of writing this much to you, which I should not have ventured through the post office, at this prying season.. we shall of course see you before the 4th of March. accept my respectful & affectionate salutations.

Th. Jefferson

Colo. Burr

[Addressed] Colo. Aaron Burr, New-York.

AMBROSE SPENCER TO AARON BURR.

HUDSON December 24. 1800.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to express to you my most cordial congratulations, on the successful issue of your and Mr. Jefferson's election. I have and do consider these events as among the greatest incidents of the age. they are clearly indicative of the abhorrence of the people of America, to the system adopted by our political adversaries—a system which if not totally changed could not have failed of destroying our excellent republican government, and on its ruin of establishing at least an aristocracy. The system pursued too, was vile in many other respects, and particularly as it tended to exclude from office, all but sycophants and political hypo-

crites. But thank Heaven the scene [scene?] is changed, and the men of our party who have been degraded and oppressed, will be entitled to be heard and noticed. imagine not however that I mean myself to be included in these observations. persecuted I have been, oppressed I could not be, and as for office had I the capacity to fill any (which I am sensible I have not) I will accept of none in the gift of the general government, nor of any office from the Governor and Council of this State. Nor is it probable that I shall ever trouble my friends for others—for my own connections I surely shall not. The joy inspired by the event of the election is indisscribable, amongst our Friends, the other party are literally chafed. It would please me to hear from you if any thing of consequence transpires, and especially on the subject of Mr. Lees certificate.

believe me to [be] yours with much respect,

A. SPENCER.

Col. A. Burr.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Counsellor-at-Law, New York.

JOSEPH ALSTON TO THEODOSIA BURR.

CHARLESTON S. C.

Dec. 26th 1800

I have this instant, My dear Theodosia,⁶⁹ received your anxiously expected letter of the 11th December and just snatch the pen to thank you for it, and tell you how much pleasure it gives me.

Had I an hour to spare, I would convince you of the propriety of early marriages, in spite of the authority of even Aristotle; I would shew you how ridiculous are the accounts of your "dear friends" respecting Carolina; and in short reply satisfactorily to every part of your letter; but in half an hour I expect a large company of Republicans to dinner, and, as my Father and family are out of town, and I keep "Bachelor's hall," I must be ready to receive them. The next post, however, I promise you a folio epistle. Adieu. I am delighted. Your letter shows you every thing that the most

⁶⁹Theodosia Burr was born at Albany June 21, 1783 and was baptised July 28. She married Joseph Alston January, 1801.

ardent lover of a disposition like mine, could desire. Yours
My dear Theodosia, always

JOS. ALSTON.

[Addressed] Miss Burr, New-York.

THEODOSIA BURR TO JOSEPH ALSTON

The books and note were received with pleasure; the latter would have honored Petrarch as much as it would have flattered Laura. I shall not leave town to day and if you should not be otherwise engaged Mrs. Provost and myself have disposed of you for this afternoon.

THEODOSIA T. B[URR].

Saturday. [1801]

[Addressed] Mr. Alston.

CHARLES PINCKNEY TO AARON BURR⁷⁰

GEORGE TOWN Saturday Morning [1801]

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Murray a gentleman whom I knew in South Carolina where he was a Member of our Legislature wishes to have an introduction to you and as I have had a request from Doctor Blyth one of our Electors in favour of this gentleman I take the liberty of recommending him to your notice—he will explain to you. the reasons of delicacy I mentioned to you, prevent me from writing the President on applications of this sort and I must apologize for taking the liberty with you. With great respect and esteem I am, dear Sir, Yours truly,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.⁷⁰

[Addressed] The Honourable Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR,—If I have omitted writing to my friends it has been hitherto that I might not amuse them with vain conjectures instead of satisfying them with such facts as might be

⁷⁰(1758-1824). He was prominent in Carolina politics at this time, having left his associates, the Federalists, to be the leader of the republican party in the State, the party which favored Jefferson. Pinckney became United States Minister to Spain, and, though able, never attained the reputation which his earlier years promised to give him.

a justification for the serious steps which untill within a few hours I have thought it might be necessary to take. I have no longer any apprehension on that score. I can now speak with some degree of confidence and have great pleasure in assuring you that all the little intrigues of falling ambition all the execrable plans of violence and usurpation will in a few hours after you read this be defeated by the election of Mr. Jefferson—eight States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, N. C., Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia and an equal division of Maryland and Vermont were pledged never to yield the wishes of the people to the cabals of a faction—this determination was known and its effects foreseen. A member from the opposite side of one of the divided States has already pledged himself to decide the vote of his State in our favor—there is great probability that another from the remaining divided State will follow his example, and as I can not learn that the Representative from Delaware has firmly entered into the views of his party, I think it probable that he too will join our ballot.

You may I think rely as fully on this information as on any that the nature of the case will admit. I place implicit confidence in it myself on [and?] look on the result as certain. but if any unforeseen event should disappoint our hopes and wishes, you may rest assured that our City shall never be disgraced by any temporising plan or acquiescence in usurpation on the part of its representative and I think I may without danger give this pledge for all those with whom he acts.

The President has called the Senate for the 4th of March. What the object is can only be got at by those who study the doctrine of chances for no other principles than those which govern the turn of a die will apply to the caprice of his politics. If you should see Mr. Warner I pray you to tell him that I shall be enabled in a day or two to send him some accounts of the fate of the Mechanics Memorial. Greet all my friends in the transfer Coffee House for me, and believe me with true regard, Your friend and fellow Citizen.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

JONATHAN RUSSELL TO AARON BURR.

PROVIDENCE, 26 June, 1801.

SIR,—Agreeable to my last reports to you I waited on Mr. Lincoln⁷¹ at Worcester. He received me with sufficient urbanity but did not leave me long in the dark as to your motive in advising caution. Whether the promotion of Mr. Barnes was in fact, a piece of *favouritism* on the part of Mr. Lincoln, or he felt himself committed in the very singular letter he wrote, and which accompanied the commission, to Mr. Barnes I will not pretend to decide; but certainly he appeared anxious to apologize for what was done and insinuated that the imputation of levity might attach to administration by an alteration of the arrangement. On my part I was too explicit to be misunderstood. I know not whether I made an impression favourable to our views or not, but Mr. Lincoln engaged that in the interview he might have with Mr. Barnes nothing should escape him, incompatible with our wishes. The letter which I have since written him, a copy whereof you will find inclosed, will enable you to ascertain the actual state of my communications with him better than any history of the business could do.

The representation with respect to Ellery⁷² is suspended for the present. His nephew, the senator,⁷³ had an influence in this measure. This man you will find very managable, altho he will need the rein rather than the spur. There is another representation on foot relative to Lyman, the naval officer at New Port, but I believe no charge of misconduct in office can be urged against him. The Mr. Gardner who is proposed for his successor is a republican and I believe a very good man but he is not qualified to discharge the duties of the office with more ability and *exactitude* than the present incumbent.

As Timothy Greene Esquire will be here before I embark I will not detain you with further details but reserve myself till his arrival, when, if you should not object to my communicating thro' him, I will take the liberty of stating some matter

⁷¹Levi Lincoln (1749-1820), attorney general under Jefferson.

⁷²William Ellery (1727-1820), collector of the port of Newport From 1790 to his death.

⁷³Christopher Ellery (1768-1840).

worthy of consideration and which requires to be managed with some skill and delicacy.

I am, with the most respectful considerations, Your very humble Servant,

JONA. RUSSELL.

Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States, New York.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO AARON BURR.

CAMBRIDGE 18th September 1801.

DEAR SIR,—This will be delivered by Colo. Lee, a fellow soldier whose merits and general character are so well known to yourself, as to require no information on my part. as his object however is to apply for the collectorship at Salem, if according to his information it should be vacant, I cannot refrain from observing, that I have known Colo. Lee from his early youth, and do not conceive, that in the County of Essex, of which we are natives, there is a person who will offer himself as a candidate, with better pretensions in regard to his moral, political, and military character, and his public services, than those of Colo. Lee. his politicks are and always have been truly republican, and his abilities are fully equal and indeed superior to the office. but my opinion of him, I wish to be tested by your own, and those of your friends in this quarter.

I have the honor to remain my dear Sir with the highest sentiments of esteem and respect, Your obedient Servant,

E. GERRY.

Hon'ble Colo. Burr,
Vice President of the U. States.

HENRY DEARBORN TO AARON BURR.

War Department

6th Nov. 1801.

Sir

I am honoured with your letter of the 27th ulto. and have given order for a compliance with the request of the Gentlemen

of Schenectady, for the discharge of Nicholas Sluyter. I have the honour to be Very respectfully, Sir, Your mo. ob. Serv

H. DEARBORN.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble Aaron Burr, Vice-President U.S., Albany. [Readdressed to] New York, N.Y.

C. A. RODNEY TO AARON BURR.

WILMINGTON December 20. 1801.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,—I have been daily anticipating the pleasure of seeing you here and having received a letter from our friend Mr. Edwards that you were still at New-York I loose not a moment in informing you that added to the many personal considerations I have for wishing to see you, there are at present strong political reasons.

Notwithstanding our Chancellor has been prevailed on to resign (in a manner with which I will at a proper time make you acquainted) in consequence of which they obtain the appointment of that officer and as our present Attorney General N. Ridgely is to be the man they also obtain the appointment of a new Att'y General it has been lately settled to dispute the election of Governor. Their object is, and they have the members in our legislature to do it, to declare their candidate General Mitchell the Governor (duly elected) as having most legal votes.

This I fear will occasion consequences to be lamented by all. On this important and interesting subject I wish to consult you and that you may be informed of the course we mean to pursue with the approbation of our friends elsewhere.

Rest assured the idea was at one period totally abandoned and it is now taken up with a general view upon advising with others from different parts. In every stage it will be our duty to behave with prudence and moderation, but at the same time with the firmness of a "*Spartan band*."

With great esteem and respect believe me Dear Sir Yours
Most Sincerely

C. A. RODNEY.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, V. President of the U. States, New-York.

HORATIO GATES TO AARON BURR.

NEW YORK 5th. Jan'y 1802

MY DEAR SIR

In compliance with your request, I enclose two of Mr. Garnett's⁷⁴ Projects; and that I may not be too late for the post, send my Letter immediately to the Post Office. I hope You will arrive at Washington before the Session is over.

I am affectionately Yours

HORATIO GATES.

[Addressed] *Cut off* U. States, [] delphia.

[Memorandum] Gen'l Gates 5 Jan. 1802.

ISAIAH BLOOMFIELD TO AARON BURR.

BURLINGTON January 11th 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Rossell has been with me, the two last days on a visit. I mentioned our conversation, respecting the office of Supervisor. It was very gratifying to him, to know the part you took in his interest. He agrees with me, in the opinion I took the liberty to express to you, considering the necessity of union of every influential Republican in this State, and great propriety of supporting the nominations of the President; it is his fervent wish, (and desired me so to write to you) that Mr. Linn may be confirmed in his appointment by the Senate. Mr. Rossell has taken charge of a letter from me, to Philip Freneau; in which, I enclose Mr. Motts on the subject of Mr. Granger's inquiry, and have recommended Freneau, immediately on its reception, to write to Washington and to visit me.

I took the liberty to inform him, that I believed, you was very much his friend on this occasion.

As Freneau's present situation, needs the assistance of those who are disposed and have the power to employ his talents in a useful manner, in the service of the public, I have written to Mr. Mott and his colleagues, to do all they can to effect this desirable object.

It is impossible for me to add to the great respect and esteem with which, I am, Most truly and sincerely Your Friend,

I'H BLOOMFIELD.

The Honourable The Vice-President of the U. States.

⁷⁴Probably James Mercer Garnett (1770-1843), of Virginia, interested in agriculture, instruction, and politics.

JOHN DICKINSON TO AARON BURR.

WILMINGTON the 23d of the 1st Month 1802.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Be pleased to accept my thanks for thy very kind letter of the 20th instant. It will prepare us for meeting reports, that otherwise would have been extremely distressing.

About five or six years ago at his place near Philadelphia the Dr.⁷⁵ fell in the same manner. Therefore by this last disorder I am induced to fear, there is some tenderness or defect in his constitution which requires the utmost attention. May it not be proper to communicate this intelligence to Dr. Eustis?⁷⁶

Dr. Logan's love of country, candor of spirit, and boundless benevolence, render his life inestimable.

With every respectful consideration, I am Thy truly affectionate Friend,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Aaron Burr, Vice president.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, Vice president in Congress.

ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS TO AARON BURR.⁷⁷

3d Feb: 1802.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the [*blank*] instant. I will attend to your Director, if ever the proposed Bank should reach the point of organization, which I very much doubt.

On the judiciary question, I wrote my sentiments to Mr. Wilson Nicholas, early in the Session. I am sorry our friends have taken so peremptory a position, as the very circumstances of having taken it, will render it difficult to move them. I cannot concur with them in the policy, or expediency of the measure. The business of the Court will not allow me to give my reasons in detail; but you shall have my Brief.

1. There never was a case in which a party could be more justified in expressing their resentment, on account of the manner of passing the Act:

⁷⁵Dr. George Logan (1753-1821), at this time United States Senator from Pennsylvania. He is best known as the occasion for the so-called Logan act of 1798, providing against officious meddling in foreign relations by a citizen. He was a Quaker.

⁷⁶William Eustis (1753-1825), at this time a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

⁷⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 81.

the manner of organizing the Courts:
 the nature of the opposition to the repeal, denying
 its Constitutionality, and menacing a civil war.

2. The repeal would be Constitutional, from a review of the principles and terms of the Constitution itself.
 of the peculiar situation of the Country, its growing population, its extending prospects, its encreasing wants, pursuits, and refinements etc. etc.
 of the analogy to the judiciary institution of England, where independence of the *Legislature*, is not within the policy or provision of the Statutes relative to the Commissions of the Judges.
 of the analogy to the judiciary institutions of the sister States, which have all been subject to Legislative interference occasionally. In Pennsylvania, particularly, the Constitution declares that the Judges shall hold their Commissions during good behaviour; yet it expressly authorises the Legislature to abolish the Courts of Common Pleas etc.
 and of the precedents in the existing Act of Congress, which is an exercise of the power, *sub modo*.
3. But notwithstanding the indignation I feel, in common with our friends, at the manner of passing the Circuit Court Act; and notwithstanding my perfect conviction, that Congress has the power of repealing the Act, I think the repeal would be impolitic, and inexpedient: If it would be impolitic, acting on party principles, it would be inexpedient of course; but I mean, also, that it would [be] inexpedient, on account of the use that Pennsylvania (and I presume the same as to other States) has derived from the institution:

1. It is impolitic.

The Republicans are not agreed on the Constitutionality of the repeal.

The People, at large, have imbibed strong prejudices on the subject of judicial independence.

The repeal would be ascribed to party animosity; and, if future amendments should be made, it

would be considered as a personal proceeding, merely to remove the present Judges.

The hazard of loss in public opinion is greater than the hope of gain. There is a mass of the community, that will not be fermented by the leaven of party passions. By persons of this description the motive and effect will be strictly analyzed and pursued.

The *mere resuscitation* of the old system, will either expose the administration of justice to inconceivable embarrassments, or demonstrate the motive to be, abstractedly, a part[y] one, by calling for an immediate reform.

The clamour of the Federalists will at least have a colourable foundation.

2. It is inexpedient.

The mere repeal will reinstate a system, which every man of common sense and candor must deprecate.

It will entirely destroy institutions susceptible of being modelled into a form, oeconomical as well as useful.

It will deprive some States of Tribunals, which have been found highly advantageous to the dispatch of business. I allude particularly to Penn'a. In this State, Justice, as far as respects our State Courts, is in a state of dissolution, from the excess of business, and the parsimony of the Legislature.

With this view of the subject, you will perceive, that I think

1. There ought not to be a total repeal.

2. There ought to be amendments.

If, however, a repeal should take place, I am clearly of opinion, that it would be unjustifiable to make any provision for the Ex-Judges. On this point, and on the introduction of amendments, I will, if you desire it, amplify by a future post.

The zealous Republicans are exciting some intemperance here, in opposition to a Memorial from our Bar, which, you will perceive, is confined to the operation of the Law in this

State, as a matter of fact, and not to any controversy of a Constitutional, or political nature.

I shall be anxious to hear from you, as often as you can spare a moment; and particularly while the Judiciary Bill is depending.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

A. J. DALLAS.

M. WILLETT TO AARON BURR.⁷⁸

NEW YORK 4th February 1802.

DEAR SIR,—What a racket this vile Judiciary Law makes. It must be repealed. But how the Judges who have their appointment during good behaviour are to be removed without making a breach in the Constitution is beyond my abilities to develope. It will not however be the first rape on that instrument, and if two wrongs could make one right this account might be squared. But that horrid Law must, indeed it must be repealed.

I have received your two favours together, one dated 28th January and the other without date. The effect of the abolision of the internal taxes on Mr. O[sgood] gives me no concern. He has plenty of other business and money enough without that. I am more concerned about the nonentity of my fortification agency. This is an operation which might be executed with peculiar advantage the ensuing summer nor do I think a substantial reason can be assigned for omitting it. I shall be glad to hear that our memorial has succeeded. The omission of the Governmental officers in suffering such large and long defaulcations is our strong ground. As the present Comptroler is one of those officers, some watchfulness may be necessary to prevent foul play. I have nothing new. Mr. V Derline⁷⁹ is at Col. Smiths with his drawing materials and has taken lodgings with Capt. Pearsey. He has made me a beautifull picture. He promises to be more attentive in writing to you.

God bless you. You have my prayers always. And who dare say they are not as good as a Bishops, or any member of

⁷⁸Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 173.

⁷⁹John Vanderlyn (1775-1852) painted a portrait of Aaron Burr which belongs to the New York Historical Society.

a Presbyterian Synod. Sometimes I think I'll turn presbyterian that I may have the benefit of their prayers not to outlive my usefull days. An event I deprecate above all others. And this is a prayer I never heard in our Church. I mean my church which you know is the Episcopal.

Most sincerely am I Dear Sir Yours,

M. WILLETT.

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Vice President of the United States, Washington City.

THOMAS TRUXTUN⁸⁰ TO AARON BURR.

NORFOLK 14th February 1802.

MY DEAR SIR,—I got here a few days ago and have seen many, very many of your friends indeed, and you are toasted daily which gives me much pleasure; Altho' I knew it was the case and would daily be more and more so with certain characters, yet I had no idea changes could have become so great as I find them in half a year. P - - - is your friend but he exceeds a want of common decency in his declaration of other gentlemen. It is true his observations are calculated for the mob on election grounds—but they ought to be dispensed with in the society of gentlemen; but upon the whole he will do good and I most sincerely anticipate the pleasure of seeing you in the possession of the first office under our blessed Constitution after the 3d of March 1805, and I pray that events may turn up to put you there before. I cannot be a hypocrite to effect even the esteem of a man or of men who I don't believe has at heart those principles which are necessary to give character and consequence to our beloved country, which under the auspices of sence and greatness, would rival in a few years the greatest powers of Europe.

I am not afraid to think and to speak whenever I deem it necessary or usefull and if I was mean enough to be actuated by a fear of losing an appointment, I hold none that can check me. My friends in politiks are aware of your situation and how cautious you ought to be just now. And there are those here who you dont know—that have lately been at

⁸⁰(1755-1822.) He went to Norfolk to take command of the fleet for the war with Tripoli.

Washington and have heard enough drop from certain characters, to convince them and this society, that you are not in the confidence of - - - - . The repeal of the Judiciary law has roused here Federalists and even Jacobins, and will unite them against such proceedings which threatens annihilation to our Constitution.

I have delivered your message to W. respecting the affairs of R. he thanks you, but I have not delivered your message to the lovely S- - - that you wish to see her and her father at Washington—tho' I have told her I had a message which I should deliver before I sailed, and like all women she is impatient to hear it and declares I must tell her immediately. I find the Chesapeake in a backward state, but shall hurry her preparations and equipment. You must take care of Alexander Hamilton, King, Pinckney, and Patterson, besides all those at the head of Departments, at least one of those nearest to - - - - .

M- - - is not satisfied where he is and if his friendship for - - - - is at an end, you have none to calculate from him. I am this moment called to sup with the amiable and the fair and we shall talk of you as usual before we rise.

With great attachment I have the honor to be Dear Sir
Your very obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS TRUXTON.

Hon'ble Aaron Burr, Esq.,
V.P., U.S.

[Addressed] Honorable Aaron Burr Esqr., Vice President of the U. S. Washington.

JAMES JACKSON⁸¹ TO AARON BURR.

Saturday Morning.

[March, 1802.]

DEAR SIR,—I have positively declined the being run for the Chair. Who do you think best qualified on our side the house? it will not do to spare General Mason,⁸² or Breckenridge.⁸³

⁸¹(1757-1806), United States Senator from Georgia.

⁸²Stevens Thomson Mason (1760-1803), United States Senator from Virginia.

⁸³John Breckinridge (1760-1806), United States Senator from Kentucky.

What I mentioned last evening as to a publication I wish to go no further, as I have decided to drop it. I allude to T- - - & D- - -.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to you (for I suppose it must have come from you) for the Medal of General Gates, and should I not see you again, wish you a safe and pleasant journey and shall expect to be honored with a line on my reaching Savannah.

I am Dear Sir with great respect, Your Obedient Servant,
JAS. JACKSON.

Hon'ble Aaron Burr

Vice President U. States.

It is objected to Baldwin⁸⁴ that it is improper as the same honor is not paid twice. What think you of Bradley?⁸⁵

[Addressed] Hon'ble Vice President, U. States.

GIDEON GRANGER TO AARON BURR.

March 10th 1802.

Allow me my friend to Introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Luther Pratt a republican Printer of East Windsor in Connecticut, He proposes establishing a Political Magazine and wishes Patronage. His sufferings while a Printer as Tory and his merits as a steadfast Republican entitle him to Patronage. Yours sincerely,

The Vice President

GID'N GRANGER.

SAMUEL S. SMITH TO AARON BURR.

PRINCETON March 13th 1802.

DEAR SIR,

The edifice of the college in this place, together with three libraries containing about three thousand volumes, was, a few days ago, entirely consumed by fire. It is not known whether this event was the effect of accident or of design; but commonly supposed to be of design. In our determination immediately to rebuild it, and, if possible, to improve its structure, it is become necessary to apply to the benevolence of the public; and in order to do this with success, to solicit the influence and

⁸⁴Abraham Baldwin (1754-1807), United States Senator from Georgia, and at this time President *pro tem* of the Senate.

⁸⁵Stephen Row Bradley (1754-1830), United States Senator from Vermont.

aid of those of its sons who are most distinguished for their talents, and the high reputation of their names. But, besides these advantages which point you out to the trustees among the first, the college holds, perhaps, a peculiar relation to you, owing its existence, as it does, principally to the extraordinary merits and exertions of a father so greatly and justly respected. Can I hope, Sir, for your particular interest in this important object, and your recommendation of it, both at the seat of government, and to your friends in New-York?' And will you be good enough to suggest any improvement in the general plan of the institution which may occur to you. Subscriptions are opening with considerable vigor in different parts of New Jersey, and in Philadelphia; and, hitherto, we entertain sanguine hopes of completing the building in the course of the next Summer. I have written also to Mr Madison, and some other gentlemen in Congress on the same subject requesting them to co-operate with you, if you will be good enough to take the interest in it which we hope. I am, most respectfully, Dear Sir, Yr Mo obdt & Mo hble Servt.

SAMUEL S. SMITH.

[Addressed] His Excellency Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

URIAH TRACY⁸⁶ TO AARON BURR

The Sermon for which I am indebted to your goodness, is now returned with many thanks for the loan.

I have perused it with pleasure, & I hope, profit. It is an excellent treatise, worthy of the attention of every man and more emphatically so of men in high & responsible stations in Govt.

Our time is short, my friend, too short to allow an opp'y of retrieving almost any mispence of it; much more so, to allow a redemption for any neglect to perform great public services, when once happily in our power. God grant that you may be profited by this and in turn be more profitable to this distracted Nation.

U. Tracy.

29th March, [1802.]

Vice Prest.

⁸⁶(1755-1807), once a United States Senator from Connecticut, at this time a resident of Washington.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO AARON BURR

John Randolph finds, to his extreme surprize and chagrin, that the house of representatives, instead of acting on the business of the *nation*, have, by the vote of a great majority, gone into committee of the whole on a complicated *private claim*, not comprised in the report of the joint committee of the two houses. He therefore *despairs*, *utterly*, of getting away before the middle of next week. He is not vain enough to suppose that Col. B. will postpone his departure on *that* account:—but he shall be highly gratified by any cause of detention not disagreeable to Col B. which shall give J. R. the pleasure of accompanying him thro Virginia.

friday Noon.

15 April [1802]

[Addressed] Col. Burr.

JAMES BIDDLE TO AARON BURR.⁸⁷

U. S. Ship *Constellation* at
Gibraltar May 8. 1802.

DEAR SUR,—As the frigate Philadelphia will sail in a few days for America, I cannot neglect so good an opportunity of writing and returning you my sincere thanks, for the marked civilities I have received at all times from you, particularly at New York, the summer of 1800. Be assured, Sir, I feel the liveliest sense of the obligations I am under for the many favours conferred upon me, and shall ever feel extremely happy to have it in my power to render you any service.

Owing to our being perplexed with almost constant easterly winds, we did not make the land until the 24th Ult. when we made Cape Cantin on the Coast of Africa. On the 28th we got into the Streights of Gibraltar, but the wind heading us off the Rock, we were obliged to bear away for Malaga. There we found the Essex and Philadelphia at anchor. On the 3rd Inst. we left Malaga, and arrived here in company with the Philadelphia and Essex, on the fifth and I expect to remain here until Commodore Truxtun arrives on the Station.

While the ship lay at Malaga, I had an opportunity of seeing everything that could attract the eye of a stranger. The

⁸⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 197.

country round the city is extremely fertile, abounding with all the different kinds of fruit trees. Indeed the lower class of the Spaniards subsist almost entirely upon fruit, the produce of the country, the chief articles of exportation being grapes, figs, anchovies, raisins, oranges, wines etc. etc. Their streets are very narrow, running at random in every direction, their houses are mostly built of marble, four stories high, different families occupying different stories of the same house. They have two or three forts built on eminences adjacent to the city, for its protection, but they are decaying, and out of order.

I anticipate enjoying a very pleasant cruise, as we seem to be favored with every thing that could render our situation agreeable. Capt. Murray is one of the best of men, and treats us with all the kindness and attention we could wish; the climate is very healthy and mild; the Tripolitans, keep among themselves, and never venture out, so that we shall have nothing to do, but visit the different ports of the Mediterranean; and the closest friendship, and social harmony prevails among the officers of the ship; every thing, in short, that we could wish, we seem to have, to make our situation comfortable.

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Alston, and Believe me, with much esteem and respect, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

JAMES BIDDLE.

Hon. A. Burr Esq'e.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble A. Burr Esquire, V. President of the U. States, City of Washington. [The "City of Washington" is crossed out, the letter evidently being forwarded from there to "New York."] Favored by Mr. Cl. Biddle Jun'r.

JOHN TAYLOR TO AARON BURR.⁸³

Virginia, Caroline, May 25, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor, covering the medal struck to commemorate the most brilliant exploit of the American War, from some cause unknown to me, never arrived until this instant; it is particularly acceptable, from the circumstance

⁸³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 198.

of my having imbibed a personal affection for General Gates, by having served under him for a few months.

It would be quite premature in me to consider, whether I would go into congress, unless it was probable that I could. The government have no means of providing for the gentleman you mention, and if they had, to do so, for the purpose of making room for another, might expose them to censure, which they will hardly encounter. As to a voluntary resignation of his station, there are some circumstances in his case, which do really justify him in refusing to do it, unless for some better prospect of public benefit.

Not until some days after you had left this, was it discovered that you had forgotten your traveling map. I lamented the inconveniences to which the oversight would expose you, but had no mode of removing them, despairing, from a recollection of your horses, that either of mine would be fleet enough to overtake you. The map could therefore only be taken care of, for the purpose of being restored to you. Permit me to hope, that you will allow me to do this at my own house as you return, and that you will apprise me of your resolution to do so, both that I may be at home, and that I may enjoy the hope of your company, before the pleasure is realized. Farewell. Yours sincerely and respectfully,

JOHN TAYLOR.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States, Charleston, South Carolina.

JAMES HILLHOUSE⁸⁹ TO AARON BURR

Mr. Hillhouse will have the honor of dining with the Vice President tomorrow agreeably to his invitation.

Dec. 20th. [1802]

[Addressed] Vice President United States.

JAMES MADISON TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

WASHINGTON Nov. 26, 1803.

Sir

I have read your letter of the 21st making certain enquiries relative to your brother George Davis.⁹⁰ The last letter from

⁸⁹(1754-1832), United States Senator from Connecticut.

⁹⁰Appointed a surgeon in the United States Navy, January, 1800, by John Adams. He later was consul at Tunis and Tripoli.

him to the Dept. of State was dated July 3d last. From the communications of Mr. Cathcart⁹¹ it appears that he left your brother at Tunis early in September. Mr. Cathcart was appointed successor to Mr. Eaton, but was not recd. by the Bey. No successor to Mr. Cathcart has been named by the President. I am Sir respectfully, Yr. obed. Ser.

JAMES MADISON.

JOHN ARMSTRONG⁹² TO AARON BURR

Mr. Armstrong will have the honor of dining with Mr. Burr on Tuesday next.
Monday.

[Addressed] The Vice President.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS TO AARON BURR.

NEW YORK 5 Dec. 1803

Dear Sir,

I have filed the Bill in Chancery and obtained and served an injunction. The rules of the Court requiring a deposit with the Register of \$100, I paid him that sum.

By the newspapers it appears that Genl. Ledyard is dead, and I should not be surprised if Phelps should attempt to avail himself of this circumstance to obtain an order to dissolve the injunction; which will *enable* him to try his cause at the sittings in this month in case the Court should proceed far enough in the calendar of causes for trial.

I am not advised who are the heirs of Mr. Ledyard and in case a successful attempt should be made to dissolve the injunction, my ignorance of the names of the persons to make parties in Mr. B. Ledyard's stead, will put it out of my power *immediately* to obtain another injunction.

⁹¹James Leander Cathcart, was nominated July 7, 1797, by President Adams, to be Consul General of the United States for the city and kingdom of Tripoli. Cathcart was a citizen of the United States, but had been for many years a prisoner in Algiers and for some years "head Christian clerk" to the Dey of Algiers. In February, 1802, Jefferson had nominated him to be consul at Algiers in place of Richard O'Brian, and in November, 1803, to be consul at Tunis, in place of William Eaton, resigned.

⁹²(1755-1843), United States Senator from New York.

Would it not be well for you to drop me a letter stating the material papers in Mr. Ledyard's possession wanted upon a trial, which letter will enable me I doubt not to postpone the trial of the suit at law, should an effort to postpone become necessary.

I presume my agent in Albany has not arrived to the grade of a Counsellor in Chancery. Should you therefore have any friend in Albany to whom you could refer me to oppose a motion before the Chancellor, have the goodness to mention it in your letter. I am Dr Sir respectfully your Sert

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

The Honb. A. Burr.

[Addressed] The Honorable Aaron Burr, Washington.

JONATHAN DAYTON⁹³ TO AARON BURR

December, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Owing to the weather and another cause not necessary or proper to be explained, I have entirely abandoned my intention of visiting Annapolis.

I know of no party going there. Mr. Purviance⁹⁴ was to have accompanied me, and taken dinner with General Stone⁹⁵ tomorrow, but he now speaks doubtfully of the jaunt, and I suspect will give it up.

I hope that you will not dissappoint Genl. S. especially as he has taken from hence three or four pairs of ducks to treat you, and something still better will have been prepared for me at his house, which I herewith transfer to you. Sincerely

J. DAYTON.

If you meet with Miss Murray, take an occasion, I pray you, of saying that I was coming to Anns. but prevented by sickness.

[Addressed] Honorable A. Burr, Esqr.

⁹³(1760-1824), United States Senator from New Jersey.

⁹⁴Samuel D. Purviance, a member of Congress from North Carolina.

⁹⁵Probably John Hoskin Stone (1745-1801).

JOHN ADAMS TO AARON BURE.

Mr. Adams present his respects to the Vice-President, and is happy to accept his obliging invitation to dinner to-morrow. 8. Jan'y 1804.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States.

ROBERT G. HARPER TO AARON BURE.

WASHINGTON MAY, 5th. 1804.

SIR,—

It has occurred to me that the Court of Impeachment, in deciding on the question now before it, may be desirous of seeing the evidence intended to be adduced, in support of the suggestion of Judge Pickering's³⁰ insanity. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing the depositions to you, and of requesting that you will be pleased to lay them before the Court.

If you have no objection, my dear Sir, to receive such a letter as the above, and to present it with the papers to the Court, I will send them in as soon as the senate meets.

It is my wish that in case the court should refuse to hear the suggestion of Insanity, it may hereafter appear that they did so with proof of the fact before them. Yours truly,

ROB. G. HARPER.

The Vice President

P.S. The depositions themselves, except one by Judge Terry of the H. M. which is not yet complete, are enclosed for your perusal.

R. G. H.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States.

JAMES A. WILKINSON TO AARON BURE.

To save time of which I need much and have but little, I propose to take a Bed with you this night, if it may be done without observation or intrusion—Answer me and if in the

³⁰The impeachment of John Pickering (1757-1806) is related in the second volume of Henry Adams' *History*.

affirmative, I will be with [you] at 30' after the 8th Hour,
Yours truly,

J. A. WILKINSON.

23rd May 1804

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble A. Burr, Richmond.

LUTHER MARTIN TO JOSEPH ALSTON.

RICHMOND, 26th June, 1807.

SIR,—I have the painful task to inform you that my much esteemed friend, Col. Burr, was yesterday committed to Prison in consequence of a Bill for Treason being found by the Grand Jury against him. I arrived here the evening of May twenty-seventh, and have been with Col. Burr ever since. Nor shall I leave him until his Trial is at end. Never, I believe, did any Government thirst more for the Blood of a victim than our enligtend, philosophic, mild, philanthropic Government for the Blood of my friend. Two Gentlemen, considered here of the first talents, are employed to assist in the prosecution, or, as it may be truly said, the persecution—and the unfeeling, the savage manner each of these three⁹⁷ have adopted, in the course of the prosecution, would dishonor any Beings but Demons from Hell. That Col. Burr is as innocent of every thing of a treasonable nature as the child unborn I remain fully convinced, that he never had any object in view, but what did honor to himself, and would have been greatly useful to the United States, and to all Europe, except France and Spain, I am fully convinced. That a Bill has been found, has been owing to the Jury not being well informed what facts constitute Treason, and to gross perjury in swearing to facts not true. We feel the utmost confidence that he will be acquitted upon his Trial, and that he will ultimately Triumph over that malignant jealousy and inveterate hatred by which he is now persecuted. That Government ardently desire to destroy Col. Burr, that it would feel no more com-

⁹⁷George Hay, William Wirt and Alexander McRae. On Burr's trial in Henry Adams' *History*, III, 441.

punction in taking his life, that that with which a philosopher views a rat expiring, with convulsions, at the bottom [of] an exhausted receiver, I have not a doubt. And I am confident that Government does not believe him to have been guilty of a treasonable act or design.

Under Col. Burr's present situation, you may be assured, it would be most pleasing, most consolatory to him, could you visit Richmond. He has many warm friends here at this time, who are not, and have not been, deterred from proving their attachment to him in the hour of adversity. And the popular odium, which had been so artfully and so basely excited against him has greatly decreased, and is still decreasing. While Wilkinson is viewed by many as the basest of villains. Nay such are the sentiments of the Grand Jury concerning him, that they were, yesterday, equally divided on the question, of finding a Bill against him for Treason.

Present my most respectful Compliments to your amiable Lady—tell her my Daughter, Maria, who came to Richmond with me, and who shares in all my sollicitudes for the fate of Col. Burr, wishes to be remembered by her—tell her, that, for her sake as well as her father's, all the professional powers I possess, are devoted to him, with all the zeal and ardency of friendship—tell her that, if on this occasion I had not come forward and offered my aid,—my services—every exertion of my mind, to shield him from his Enemies, I should have felt myself most deservedly liable to her eternal reproaches—and finally tell her she has my fervent prayers for her happiness.

You will forgive this intrusion upon you by a person, who has not the honor to be *personally* known to you, but who is with sentiments of respect and esteem for you, Your very obedient Servant,

LUTHER MARTIN.

The Hon'ble Joseph Alston:

THEODOSIA BURR ALSTON TO MRS HERMAN
BLENNERHASSETT.⁹⁸

Virginia, Richmond, Aug. 5th, 1807.

It was with great regret, my dear Friend, that I learned your determination to remain at Natchez; we had been told that you were actually on your way hither; so well authenticated was this report, that after the arrival of Mr. Blennerhassett I still hoped to hear from him that you were not far off. Your absence is the more to be regretted as you might without any inconvenience have resided with Mr. B—I intended to have added to your comforts by my attentions, and hoped to have cheered you by the society of myself and friends.

Mr. B. is in perfectly good health, and Mr Alston who has visited him twice since his arrival, which took place yesterday, assures me that his spirits are good. The rooms in which he is confined are very comfortable, they were occupied by my Father till within a few days, I spent several days and one night in them; they are cool, clean and retired from all unpleasant *company*, I hope however that in a few days I shall be able to give you more pleasant and cheering information. Do not, then, suffer yourself to be depressed by apprehensions which must be unfounded. In the meantime rest assured that nothing shall be neglected to contribute to the comfort of your Husband in his present situation which, however, I repeat it, is more tolerable than you may imagine.

Adieu—Kiss your little ones for me. That Heaven may shower blessings on you all is the sincere wish of your affectionate

T. B. ALSTON.

My Father's trial will commence in a few days and we look forward to it with all the cheerfulness we must derive from innocence supported by talents;—for some of the most eminent advocates in the Union have volunteered their services in his cause.

⁹⁸Adeline Agnew, daughter of the governor of the Isle of Man, married Blennerhassett in 1796. This letter crossed one from Mrs. Blennerhassett to her husband, August 3, 1807, saying: "Apprise Colonel Burr of my warmest acknowledgments, for his own and Mrs. Alston's kind remembrance; and tell him to assure her she has inspired me with a warmth of attachment which never can diminish. I wish him to urge her to write to me." Quoted in Parton's, "Life of Aaron Burr," p. 501.

A. PREVOST⁹⁹ TO AARON BURR.

WEYBRIDGE, 1 September, [1808.]

I began the fear that you had returned to the Antipodes, dear Sir, when your wellcome letter informed me of your desirable Situation; I apply'd to the Achards;¹⁰⁰ they say'd you was gone out of Town; had changed your loddgings, and did not know your address; the arrival of the Packet made me more anxious. I had no letters from Sir George Prevost¹⁰¹ by the last Halifax Mail; but my Daughter in law, Mrs. James Prevost, received one from him, dated the 31st July; when he was preparing, with Sir J. B. Warren¹⁰² to go to various parts of Nova Scotia, in a Tour, which was to last three weeks, at the expiration of which he flattered himself, his family would arrive, which unfortunately cannot be having only sailed from Portsmouth the 17th Ult.

I trust to your promise of revisiting Weybridge soon; where you will meet Mr. and Mrs. Barnett; the Gunns have enjoy'd a whole week of happiness during the Egham Races; where they went every days; the fêtes ended with a ball, to which the Dutchess of York presided; the Dukes of York, and Cumberland, having been the Stewards; I suppose they mett *the other Duke*, tho I have not heard it; and he has not been here since; *et je suis privée du plaisir de vous donner le dénouement de la Pièce*; Mrs. Mallet,¹⁰³ of Brianston Street, has lamented her absence from it, when you left your card, she was then in Hert's, and is now in London; I believe *alone*, for every body is out of it; you'll find it deserted at your return; the general War to Partridges begins to day; some unexpected visitors

⁹⁹This may be from Anne Prevost, mother of Sir George Prevost. She was Anne Grand, daughter of Chevalier George Grand of Amsterdam and married Augustine Prevost, a major-general in the British army. Burr had been at Weybridge, July 26. *Diary*, I, 2.

¹⁰⁰Madame Achard was cousin to Frederick Prevost, son of Mrs. Burr by her first husband.

¹⁰¹(1767-1826), who in 1808 became lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia.

¹⁰²Sir John Borlase Warren (1753-1822), admiral in British Navy.

¹⁰³Wife of John Lewis Mallett, a second cousin of Frederick Prevost.

obliges me to conclude, and gives me only time to assure you of the sincere best wishes of, Dear Sir, Your obliged humble Servant

A. PREVOST.

[Addressed] A Burr Esq. at J. Bentham Esqr. near Godstow, Barrow green.¹⁰⁴

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO AARON BURR.

23 July 1814.

D Sir

Your polite note with Hatsel I have received and acknowledge my obligation for your particular politeness and friendly solicitude. I shall lodge at the Eagle Tavern formerly Gregories now Baird's, where I should be happy to meet you.

Yours

M. V. BUREN

[Addressed] Col. A. Burr, N. York.

AARON BURR TO JOSEPH ARNOLD.

NEW YORK, 5 August, 1816.

SIR,—Your order is still unpaid and the gentlemen on whom it is drawn preemptorily refuse to pay. I thought it might be necessary for your justification to protest it, which has been done as you have been many days since advised by the Notary.

I have received a letter from Ransom dated 30th July, requesting that the taxed bills may be reviewed and giving me a deal of advice how to do my own business. I am really quite ashamed and mortified to see such a letter. It is a very trifling and silly attempt to gain a little time and to impose on me. He knew perfectly well that the measures he pretends to advise were unnecessary and if necessary, that I must be much better informed of it than he could be. My bills are against him and not against Campbell. Ransom has not answered one of my letters for the last six months. How often have I bid him to send me the bond—and yet he dares to tell me that he wishes to [be?] placed in a situation to compel

¹⁰⁴He went to Bentham on August 18th and again on the 26th, remaining over the 29th. See Burr, *Memoirs*, II, 414.

Campbell to pay? Why then does he not send me the bond. He has been speculating on my money for nearly nine months and now writes me a letter of two pages without a word from which I can infer that he ever means to pay me, nor do I believe that he does if he can any way avoid it. Whilst the suit was pending he was very liberal of his promises. Now he has got his money, he seems resolved to keep it.

If I should not by return of mail receive the money or a satisfactory reply, I shall not write again and he may blame himself for the consequences.¹⁰⁵ I am Sir Your humble servant,

A. BURR.

Please to transmit my receipt and take up your order.
Joseph Arnold, Esqr., Pawlings Town.

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

January 6th. 1818.

SIR,

Enclosed herewith, you will receive the other part of your Contract for the supply of rations to the troops of the United States within the States of Vermont, New York and New Jersey, commencing the 1st. of June 1818, and ending the 31st. of May 1819, executed on the part of the government. I have the honor to be, Your obt. Servant,

J. C. CALHOUN

¹⁰⁵Burr first wrote: "I beg that he will not trouble himself to give me any more advice."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART XI: OHIO

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations

except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in about fifteen installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with an historical introduction, acknowledgement of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. Since the material will be held in type until after the printing of the final installment, the compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

OHIO

[Burlington] *Scioto Telegraph*, see under Portsmouth.

Cadiz Informant, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established in December, 1816, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Jan. 9, 1818, vol. 2, no. 55, published by Smith & Harris (——— Smith and John Harris), with the title of "The Cadiz Informant." It was published in the spring of 1818 by Smith & Harris (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141). In the "Cadiz Republican" of Jan. 18, 1917, the statement is made that the first Cadiz newspaper was established Sept. 15, 1815, which statement was based upon an article in the Republican about 1843 noting an old copy of a Cadiz newspaper which was brought in for the editor's examination. No copy of a paper earlier than "The Cadiz Informant" has been located.

A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 9.

[Cadiz] **Ohio Luminary**, 1819.

Published in the spring of 1819 by John Harris (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). No copy located.

[Canton] **Ohio Repository**, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 30, 1815, by John Saxton, with the title of "The Ohio Repository," and so continued until after 1820.

Canton Repository office has Mar. 30, 1815-Dec. 28, 1820. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Mar. 30, 1815. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Mar. 6, July 24, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Oct. 30.

[Chillicothe] **Fredonian**, 1807-1809.

Weekly. Established Feb. 19, 1807, by Hinde & Richardson (Thomas S. Hinde and Robert D. Richardson), with the title of "The Fredonian." In July, 1807, Hinde

retired and R. D. Richardson became the publisher. Early in 1808 the title was changed to "Fredonian." The last issue located is that of Aug. 5, 1808, vol. 2, no. 67. Richardson advertises in "The Independent Republican" of Sept. 8, 1809, to collect his debts, and refers to his paper as "the late Fredonian."

Harvard has Feb. 19, Mar. 7, 14, Apr. 4, May 16, June 6, 13, 26, July 31, Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 25, Oct. 16, 23, Nov. 20, 27, 1807. Lib. Congress has Mar. 14, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808. H. W. Phelps, Columbus, has June 13, 1807. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 22, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Mar. 7.

May 2, Aug. 7.

1808. July 22, 29.

Aug. 5.

[Chillicothe] *Fredonian*, 1811, 1812-1813.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Independent Republican." The first issue with the title of "The Fredonian," was that of Sept. 19, 1811, vol. 3, no. 106, published by R. D. Richardson & Co. (Robert D. and Thomas H. Richardson). It was discontinued at Chillicothe with the issue of Oct. 3, 1811, vol. 3, no. 108, and removed to Circleville, where it was published from Oct. 9, 1811 to Aug. 11, 1812. For these issues, see under Circleville.

With the issue of Aug. 25, 1812, vol. 3, no. 48, it was returned to Chillicothe, it then being published by Robert D. Richardson. With the issue of Sept. 1, 1812, Richardson formed a partnership with John Bailhache under the firm name of Richardson & Bailhache, who continued the paper to the last issue located, that of Oct. 26, 1813, vol. 4, no. 52.

Ohio State Lib. has Sept. 19, Oct. 3, 1811; Aug. 25, 1812-Oct. 26, 1813. Harvard has Oct. 3, 1811; Jan. 26, Mar. 16, 23, May 11, June 1, Aug. 3-17, 31, Oct. 26, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 16.

1813. Aug. 10.

[Chillicothe] Freeman's Journal, 1800.

Edmund Freeman, publisher of "Freeman's Journal" at Cincinnati, removed to Chillicothe in 1800 (Daniel Drake, "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152). This was evidently because of the Act of Congress, approved May 7, 1800, making Chillicothe the capital of the Ohio territory. In the records of the territorial court at Chillicothe in 1800 is to be found an order that certain advertisements should be inserted in "Freeman's paper" ("Ohio Centennial Celebration," 1903, p. 565). In "The Western Spy," of Cincinnati, of Nov. 5, 1800, is the following death notice: "On Saturday, the 25th ult. at his father's place, on Bever Creek, Mad River settlement, Mr. Edmund Freeman, printer, formerly of this place." No copies of the Chillicothe issues have been located.

[Chillicothe] Independent Republican, 1809-1811.

Weekly. Established Sept. 8, 1809, by Peter Parcels, with the title of "The Independent Republican." The last issue with this title was that of Sept. 13, 1811, vol. 3, no. 105, when Parcels sold out to R. D. Richardson & Co., who continued the paper under the title of "The Fredonian," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 13, 1809; Sept. 13, 1810-Sept. 13, 1811. Lib. Congress has Nov. 20, 1809; Feb. 1, 1810. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Apr. 4, 1811. Harvard has May 23, 30, June 6, 27, Aug. 1, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1809. Sept. 8, 18, 25.

Oct. 9, 30.

Nov. 27.

1810. Jan. 4, 11, 18, 25.

Feb. 8.

Mar. 1, 8^m, 15, 22.

May 24.

June 28.

July 5, 19.

Sept. 27.

Dec. 27^m.1811. May 9^m.**[Chillicothe] Ohio Herald, 1805-1807.**

Weekly. Established July 27, 1805, by Thomas G. Bradford & Co., with the title of "The Ohio Herald." In July, 1806, the title was altered to "Ohio Herald." The last issue located is that of Nov. 15, 1806, vol. 2, no. 67. The paper was succeeded by "The Fredonian" early in 1807.

Harvard has July 27, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 21, 1805; June 28, Aug. 2, 30, Oct. 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15, 1806. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Nov. 30, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1805. July 27.

Aug. 17.

[Chillicothe] Scioto Gazette, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. Established late in April, 1800, judging from the volume numbering of the earliest regular issue located, that of Sept. 17, 1801, vol. 2, no. 74. The paper was probably printed during its first year by Winship & Willis (Winn Winship and Nathaniel Willis) as they were chosen printers of the legislative journals on Nov. 5, 1800. Before August, 1801, N. Willis became sole publisher of the paper, which was entitled "The Scioto Gazette." In the issue of Oct. 15, 1804, Willis says "Our next paper will complete four years since it came into the hands of the present editor." The issue of Oct. 24, 1805, according to an editorial, "completes five years since its first publication." With the issue of Dec. 29, 1805, Willis sold out to J[oseph] S. Collins & Co. From 1805 to 1809 Peter Parcels was editor, although his name did not appear in the imprint. At some time between Sept. 30, 1812, and Apr. 7, 1814, James Barnes became publisher. In August, 1815, John Bailhache became publisher, changed the title to "The Scioto Gazette, and Fredonian

Chronicle," and adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Oct. 2, 1818, Bailhache transferred the proprietorship to John Scott, but with the issue of Apr. 16, 1819, he again became a proprietor and the paper was published by Bailhache & Scott. With this issue, moreover, the initial "The" was dropped from the title. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Scioto Gazette Company has Aug. 2, 9, Sept. 10, Nov. 7, 28, Dec. 19, 1801; Jan. 9-Apr. 17, May 22-Oct. 2, 1802; Jan. 1, 1803-Dec. 29, 1814; Apr. 24, June 5, July 24, 31, Sept. 11, 1818; Feb. 10, 1820. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Sept. 17, 1801; Mar. 10, 1810. Harvard has Oct. 17, Dec. 5, 1801; Feb. 26, May 14, June 25, July 9, 30, Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 17-Oct. 15, 1803; June 11, July 16, Oct. 29, Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 1804; Mar. 18, 25, Apr. 8-22, May 6-20, June 10, 24, July 1, 8, 22, 29, Aug. 19-Sept. 2, 23-Oct. 7, 24-Dec. 5, 29, 1805; Jan. 9, 1806. Lib. Congress has Apr. 10, 1802; Mar. 5, 1807; Nov. 28, 1816; Jan. 1, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820. Chillicothe Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1802-June 25, 1803. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Jan. 30-Feb. 20, 1806; Sept. 3, 1807; Sept. 26, 1810; Sept. 25, 1818-Dec. 28, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has May 30, June 6, 1810; May 22, Oct. 2, 1811. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Sept. 10, 1804. Univ. of Chicago has Nov. 27, 1806. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Dec. 12, 1810. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 4, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1800. Supplement: [U. S. Cong. Act, passed May 10, 1800.]

1801. Extra: Aug. 2.

Supplement: Oct. 17.

1803. Oct. 1, 8, 15, 22.

Nov. 5, 12, 19.

Dec. 3, 10.

Extra: [August].

1804. Jan. 2, 16, 23.

Feb. 20.

Mar. 12.

Apr. 16, 23, 30.

May 14, 28.

June 4, 11, 18, 25.

July 9, 16, 23.

Oct. 15, 29.

Nov. 5, 19, 26.

Dec. 3, 10.

1805. Mar. 11^m, 18.

Apr. 1, 15, 22, 29.

May 6, 13, 27.

June 10, 24.

July 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.

Sept. 9, 16, 23, 30.

Oct. 7, 14, 24, 31.

Nov. 7, 28.

1806. Jan. 23, 30.

Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Mar. 6, 13, 27.

Apr. 3, 10, 17, 24.

May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

June 5, 26.

July 3, 10.

Aug. 7, 28.

Sept. 4, 18.

Oct. 9, 23, 30.

Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Dec. 25.

Supplement: Mar. 29.

1807. Jan. 8.

Feb. 5, 12.

Mar. 5, 12, 19.

Apr. 9.

June 4, 11.

July 30.

Aug. 20, 27.

Sept. 3, 10, 17.

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1808. Jan. 4, 11.
Mar. 21.
Apr. 4, 11, 18.
May 16, 23, 30.
June 6, 20.
July 1, 19, 26.
Aug. 9, 23.
Sept. 6, 23.
Dec. 26.
1809. Jan. 16, 30.
Feb. 6, 13, 27.
Mar. 6, 20, 27.
Apr. 24.
May 8, 29.
June 5, 12, 26.
July 10, 17.
Aug. 7.
Sept. 11, 25.
Oct. 2, 9, 16.
Nov. 6, 13, 20, 29.
Dec. 6, 13, 20.
Supplement: Dec. 15.
1810. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21.
Apr. 11, 18, 25.
May 9, 16.
June 6, 27.
July 4, 11.
Aug. 1, 22.
Sept. 5, 26.
Oct. 10, 24.
Nov. 7, 21, 28.
Dec. 12, 19.
Supplement: Jan. 3, 10.
1811. Jan. 9, 23.
Feb. 6, 13.
Mar. 13, 27.

- Apr. 17, 24.
 May 1, 8, 15.
 1812. Sept. 30.
 1814. Apr. 7, 28.
 1815. Nov. 2.
 1816. Sept. 26.
 1818. Apr. 3, 24.
 May 22.
 1819. June 18^m.
 July 23.
 Extra: Jan. 29.

[Chillicothe] *Supporter*, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 6, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 8, 1808, vol. 1, no. 10, published by Nashee and Denny (George Nashee and George Denny, according to their proposals in "The Scioto Gazette" of Aug. 23, 1808), with the title of "The Supporter." In March, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by George Nashee. It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 8, 1808-Sept. 26, 1815; Oct. 29, 1816-Nov. 22, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 30, 1809; Mar. 2, 23, May 25, June 8-29, July 13, Aug. 3, 17, Nov. 23-Dec. 7, 21, 1811. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 18, 1809. Lib. Congress has Aug. 6, 1816. Marietta Coll. has Aug. 29, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 21, Dec. 12, 1815; Jan. 16, Feb. 6-27, Apr. 2-Nov. 26, 1816; Oct. 14, Nov. 4-18, Dec. 2-30, 1818; Jan. 6, 1819-Dec. 20, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Dec. 1, 1813. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has June 3, 1818. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 5 to Dec. 30.

Extra: July 15.

Missing: Jan. 19, Mar. 23, May 4, Aug. 11,
 Nov. 10, Dec. 30.

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Missing: Jan. 20, Apr. 28.
1811. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 23.
1812. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Dec. 26.
Missing: July 11, Aug. 15, Oct. 17.
1813. Jan. 2 to Dec. 29.
[Extra]: Feb. 2.
Mutilated: Dec. 8.
Missing: Sept. 29, Oct. 6.
1814. Jan. 5 to Dec. 31.
Missing: Jan. 12, 19, Feb. 2, Apr. 9, May 7,
July 2, 30, Aug. 6, 27, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 26,
Dec. 3, 10.
1815. Jan. 7, 17, 24.
Feb. 14.
May 30.
June 13, 20, 27.
July 18^m.
Aug. 8, 15^m.
Sept. 4^m, 26.
Extra: May 10.
1816. Feb. 6.
Apr. 2, 9, 16, 30.
May 14.
June 4^m, 11, 18, 25.
July 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
Aug. 6, 13, 20.
Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
1817. Jan. 14, 21.
Feb. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Mar. 4, 11.
Apr. 1, 15, 22.
May 13, 27.
June 3, 10.
July 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Aug. 26.

Oct. 7, 14, 21.

Nov. 4, 11, 18.

Dec. 2, 9, 30.

1818. Jan. 6, 13, 20.

[Chillicothe] *Weekly Recorder*, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 5, 1814, by John Andrews, with the title of "The Weekly Recorder." It was of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue, and each volume had a title-page and index. Although primarily a religious newspaper, it contained considerable local news, obituaries, etc. With the issue of Aug. 18, 1819, John Andrews took his son John C. Andrews into partnership under the firm name of John Andrews & Son. So continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-Dec. 27, 1820. Carnegie Lib. of Allegheny has July 5, 1814-Aug. 17, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has July 5, 1814-June 28, 1815; July 31, 1816-July 31, 1818; Aug. 18, 1819-Aug. 17, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-July 16, 1819; Mar. 2-Aug. 3, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-June 28, 1815. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Jan. 19-June 14, 1815. Marietta Coll. has Dec. 4, 1813; Feb. 20, 1816-Dec. 27, 1820, scattering issues. Univ. of Chicago has Sept. 18, Dec. 4, 1818; Jan. 1-Oct. 6, 1819. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Aug. 24-Dec. 27, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1815. Mar. 16^m, 23.

Apr. 6, 13, 20.

May 3, 17, 24, 31.

June 14, 21, 28.

Index.

1816. July 31 to Dec. 24.

Title-page.

1817. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Title-page.

1818. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.

Title-page.

1819. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.

Title-page.

1820. Jan. 6 to Dec. 27.

Title-page.

[Cincinnati] Advertiser, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established June 13, 1810, by Francis Mennessier, with the title of "The Advertiser." It succeeded "The Whig," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new title and volume numbering. Daniel Drake, in his "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152, states that it expired in November, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 13, 27.

Cincinnati Advertiser, 1818-1820, see [Cincinnati] Inquisitor.

[Cincinnati] Centinel of the North-Western Territory, 1793-1796.

Weekly. Established Nov. 9, 1793, by W[illiam] Maxwell, with the title of "The Centinel of the North-Western Territory." It was of quarto size, but with the issue of July 12, 1794, was enlarged to folio. It was discontinued in June, 1796, probably with the issue of June 11, 1796, as Maxwell inserted an advertisement, dated June 13, 1796, in the early numbers of the "Freeman's Journal," stating that he had discontinued the printing business. It was succeeded by the "Freeman's Journal."

Ohio State Lib, has Nov. 9, 1793-Nov. 8, 1794. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. Nov. 23, 1793-June 4, 1796. Harvard has June 7, 27, July 4, Aug. 1, Oct. 31, Dec. 26, 1795; Apr. 9, 23, 30, 1796. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 23, 1795.

[Cincinnati] Freeman's Journal, 1796-1800.

Weekly. Established June 18, 1796, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 9, 1796, vol. 1, no. 4, published by S. Freeman, and Son (Samuel and Edmund Freeman), with the title of "Freeman's Journal." At some time between Mar. 25, 1797, and Oct. 27, 1798, Edmund Freeman became sole proprietor and published the paper up to the time of the last issue located, that of Oct. 1, 1799, vol. 4, no. 19. Daniel Drake in his "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of

Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152, states that Freeman continued the paper until the beginning of 1800, and then removed to Chillicothe. Freeman advertises in "The Western Spy" of Cincinnati, under date of Mar. 1, 1800, that he has "this day given all accounts into the hands of Thomas Morris, for collection." See under Chillicothe-Freeman's Journal.

Harvard has July 9, 23-Sept. 3, 17, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 5, 12, 26-Dec. 31, 1796; Mar. 4-25, 1797; Mar. 5, 1799. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Oct. 27, 1798; Oct. 1, 1799. A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 25.

Cincinnati Gazette, 1815.

Weekly. Established July 15, 1815, by Thomas Palmer, with the title of "The Cincinnati Gazette." In December, 1815, it was consolidated with "Liberty Hall," which with the issue of Dec. 11, 1815, was entitled "Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette."

Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has July 15-Sept. 2, 1815.

[Cincinnati] Inquisitor, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 23, 1818, by Cooke, Powers & Penney (Edward B. Cooke, Benjamin F. Powers and Thomas Penney), with the title of "The Inquisitor, and Cincinnati Advertiser." With the issue of Aug. 4, 1818, the title was changed to "Inquisitor Cincinnati Advertiser," the word "Inquisitor" being in smaller type above the main title "Cincinnati Advertiser," which might cause the paper to be alluded to as the "Cincinnati Advertiser." although the editors usually referred to it as the "Inquisitor." With the issue of May 11, 1819, the firm was dissolved and a new firm was formed of Powers & Hopkins (Benjamin F. Powers and George F. Hopkins). With the issue of Sept. 12, 1820, Benj. F. Powers became sole publisher and so continued until after 1820.

Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has June 23, 1818-July 18, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has July 21, 1818-Dec. 12, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has June 30, 1818-Dec. 21,

1819. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 23, 1818-June 15, 1819.
Lib. Congress has May 4, 1819-Sept. 5, 1820. Wis. Hist.
Soc. has Nov. 24, 1818. Univ. of Chicago has Jan. 26,
1819; June 29, 1820 A. A. S. has:

1818. Aug. 4, 11^m.
Sept. 8^m.

1819. Mar. 2^m, 30^m.
May 25^m.

[Cincinnati] Liberty Hall, 1804-1820+.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established Dec. 4, 1804, by John W. Browne, with the title of "Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury." With the issue of Apr. 13, 1809, the title was shortened to "Liberty Hall," and John W. Browne took his son, Samuel J. Browne, and James H. Looker into partnership, under the firm name of J. W. Browne, & Co. John W. Browne died Jan. 3, 1813, and with the issue of Jan. 12, 1813, the paper was published by the surviving partners, Browne & Looker. S. J. Browne disposed of his interest to Andrew Wallace, and with the issue of Nov. 16, 1813, the paper was published by J. H. Looker & A. Wallace. With the issue of Dec. 11, 1815, "The Cincinnati Gazette" was consolidated with it, and the title was changed to "Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette," published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds (James H. Looker, Thomas Palmer and S—Reynolds), Wallace having sold out his interest. The "&" in the title was changed to "and" with the issue of May 20, 1816. With the issue of Dec. 30, 1816, Looker and Reynolds were replaced by Ephraim Morgan in the firm, which became E. Morgan & Co. (changed to Morgan, Palmer & Co. with the issue of Jan. 20, 1817). With the issue of Sept. 1, 1817, James Lodge replaced Palmer in the firm which became Morgan, Lodge and Co. The paper became a semi-weekly with the issue of Mar. 9, 1819 and was so continued until after 1820.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 4, 1804-Feb. 3, 1817; Oct. 20, 1818-Mar. 3, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 16, 1805-Nov. 19, 1808; Jan. 19, 1814-Dec. 4, 1815; Mar. 11, 1816-Dec. 30, 1820. Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has Apr. 10, 1811-Dec. 22, 1812; Jan. 7, 1813; June 14, 1814-June 3, 1818; Aug. 11, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Lib. Congress has Sept. 21, 1807; Apr. 9, 30, June 25, July 9, 16, Aug. 20-Sept. 10, 24, Nov. 26, 1808-Apr. 3, 1811; Apr. 26, Oct. 11, 1814-Sept. 11, 1815, fair; June 9, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 17, 1811-Aug. 30, 1814, fair; June 24, 1816. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Jan. 3, Oct. 28, 1816-June 3, 1818; Mar. 9, 1819-Mar. 3, 1820. Western Reserve has Jan. 5, 1819-Mar. 24, 1820. Harvard has Sept. 15, 1812-Dec. 13, 1814, fair. N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 22, 1813; Jan. 6-Sept. 22, 1817, fair; Jan. 21, Mar. 18, June 30, July 14, Aug. 4, Dec. 15, 1818. Marietta College has Mar. 18-Apr. 1, Aug. 18, 25, Sept. 29, Oct. 6, 1818; Jan. 19-Dec. 28, 1819; Nov. 11, Dec. 2-16, 1820. Port Jervis, N. Y., Lib., has Aug. 4, 1807. Yale has Jan. 7, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1806. Oct. 21.

Nov. 18.

Dec. 16.

Supplement: Dec. 16.

1807. Jan. 20.

Feb. 3.

Mar. 3, 31.

Apr. 14, 28.

June 2.

1808. June 18.

1809. Feb. 16.

1810. Aug. 8.

1812. June 23.

July 14, 21, 28.

Aug. 4, 11, 18.

Sept. 15, 21, 25, 29.

Oct. 13.

Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.

Dec. 8.

Extra: July 11.

1813. Feb. 16, 23.

Mar. 2, 23, 30.

Apr. 6, 20, 27.

May 4, 18, 25^m.

June 1, 8, 22, 29^m.

July 6, 13, 20, 27.

Aug. 24.

Sept. 7, 21, 28.

Oct. 12^m, 26.

Nov. 30.

Dec. 7, 14, 21.

1814. Jan. 11, 25.

Feb. 1, 8.

Mar. 15.

Apr. 12, 19, 26.

May 10, 17.

June 14, 28.

July 12.

Aug. 2, 16.

Sept. 27.

Oct. 4, 18.

Nov. 22, 29.

Dec. 30.

1815. Jan. 5, 11, 28.

Feb. 4, 11, 18.

Mar. 25.

Apr. 1, 15, 22.

May 8, 15, 22.

June 5, 19, 26.

July 3, 17.

Aug. 7, 14, 28.

Sept. 4, 18.

Oct. 16, 23.

Nov. 13, 20, 27.

Dec. 11 (fac-sim), 18, 25.

1816. Jan. 8.
Mar. 4.
Apr. 15, 22, 29.
May 6, 13, 20, 27.
June 3, 10, 17, 24.
July 1, 8, 22, 29.
Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Sept. 2, 9, 16, 22, 25, 30.
Oct. 7, 21, 28.
Nov. 4, 11, 18, 25^m.
Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23.
1817. Jan. 27.
Feb. 3, 10, 17.
Mar. 3, 17, 31.
Apr. 7, 14, 28.
May 12.
June 30^m.
Dec. 1.
1818. Sept. 15.

[Cincinnati] *Literary Cadet*, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established Nov. 22, 1819, with the title of "The Literary Cadet," edited by Joseph Buchanan and printed by Looker, Reynolds & Co. (James H. Looker and S—— Reynolds). It was of quarto size. With the issue of Jan. 3, 1820, the size was enlarged to folio and the title was changed to "Literary Cadet, and Cheap City Advertiser." The last issue was that of Apr. 27, 1820, vol. 1, no. 23, after which it was consolidated with the "Western Spy."

Ohio State Lib. has Nov. 22, 1819-Apr. 27, 1820.

[Cincinnati] *Spirit of the West*, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established July 26, 1814, by M[——] S. Pettit, with the title of "Spirit of the West," and so continued until Apr. 29, 1815, vol. 1, no. 41.

Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has July 26, 1814-Apr. 29, 1815.
Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 26, 1814. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc.

has Nov. 29, 1814; Mar. 4-18, Apr. 8, 15, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1814. July 26.

Aug. 2, 9, 16, 23.

Sept. 6, 13, 27.

Nov. 15.

[Cincinnati] *Western Spy*, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 28, 1799, by Joseph Carpenter, with the title of "The Western Spy, and Hamilton Gazette." With the issue of Dec. 10, 1799, Jonathan S. Findlay was taken into partnership and the paper was published by Carpenter & Findlay. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1803, Findlay's name disappeared from the imprint, which became Joseph Carpenter & Co., but Findlay still retained his interest in the firm. With the issue of Sept. 4, 1805, he finally sold out and Joseph Carpenter became sole proprietor. With this issue of Sept. 4, 1805, the title was changed to "The Western Spy, and Miami Gazette." With the issue of July 29, 1806, David L. Carney became the publisher. With the issue of Aug. 6, 1808, George Williamson became the publisher, and continued the paper until April, 1809, when he sold it to its former editor, David L. Carney, who established "The Whig" in its place.

On Sept. 1, 1810, Joseph Carpenter & Co. reestablished "The Western Spy" with a new volume numbering. Carpenter died Mar. 10, 1814, and with the issue of Apr. 9, 1814, E[phraim] Morgan & Co. became the publishers, Carpenter's estate, however, retaining an interest. With the issue of July 23, 1814, a new series volume numbering was started and the paper was published by E. Morgan & M[icajah] T. Williams, they having bought out the Carpenter interest. With the issue of Apr. 26, 1816, the firm was dissolved and Williams admitted James M. Mason to partnership, under the firm name of Williams & Mason. With the issue of June 20, 1818, Samuel Todd was admitted to the firm, which became Williams, Mason, and Co. In the issue of Jan. 9, 1819, it was announced

that the firm of Williams & Mason had been dissolved on June 8, 1818, by the transfer of Williams's interest to Todd, and that the new firm of Williams, Mason & Co. was now dissolved, to be succeeded by a firm comprising James M. Mason and Thomas Palmer. With the issue of Jan. 16, 1819, the title was changed to "Western Spy, and Cincinnati General Advertiser," and with that of Jan. 23, 1819, the firm name of Mason and Palmer appeared in the imprint. With the issue of Apr. 29, 1820, the "Literary Cadet" was absorbed, and the title was changed to "Western Spy, and Literary Cadet," edited by Joseph Buchanan, and published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds (James H. Looker, Thomas Palmer and S—— Reynolds). With the issue of Sept. 14, 1820, the title was slightly altered to "Western Spy & Literary Cadet." Continued until after 1820.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has May 28, 1799-Jan. 4, 1804; Aug. 1, 1804-Apr. 8, 1806; Aug. 26, 1806-July 2, 1808; Sept. 15, 1810-Oct. 17, 1812. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Dec. 3, 1799; Feb. 4, 1801; Sept. 18, 1802; Aug. 31, 1803; Jan. 25, 1804; Oct. 23, Nov. 13, 1805-Feb. 11, 1806; Mar. 25-July 29, 1806; Sept. 12, 1812-May 30, 1818; Feb. 26, Apr. 29-Dec. 28, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 23, 1814-Dec. 28, 1820. Lib. Congress has Feb. 11, 1801; Aug. 21, Sept. 4, Oct. 16, 1805; Apr. 6, 1807; July 28, 1815-Sept. 7, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has May 24, 1816-Dec. 28, 1820. Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has July 25, 1817-Dec. 28, 1820. Harvard has Jan. 7, 1801; Sept. 15, 1810-Nov. 9, 1811, scattering file; Nov. 28, 1812-Dec. 10, 1814, scattering file. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Sept. 31, 1799. Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio, Toledo, has Aug. 1, 1804. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 16, 1816. Univ. of Chicago has Jan. 23, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 10, 17.

1804. Sept. 12^m.

1807. Apr. 13.

May 4.

- Sept. 21.
Nov. 30.
Dec. 7.
1808. Aug. 13.
1810. Sept. 1.
Oct. 6.
Dec. 1.
1811. Feb. 9, 16, 23.
Mar. 23, 30.
June 15.
July 20.
Sept. 28.
1812. Mar. 21.
Dec. 19.
1813. Jan. 1^m, 23.
Mar. 27.
Apr. 3, 10.
June 26.
Extra: Mar. 24.
1815. Jan. 28.
Apr. 15.
June 16.
July 7.
Oct. 20, 27.
Nov. 17, 24.
1816. Feb. 2.
Aug. 23.
Nov. 15, 22, 29.
Dec. 13.
1817. Jan. 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14.
Apr. 11.
Dec. 5.
1819. Supplement: Nov. 6.

[Cincinnati] Whig, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Apr. 13, 1809, by David L. Carney, with the title of "The Whig," succeeding "The

Western Spy." With the issue of Apr. 20, 1809, Ephraim Morgan was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Carney & Morgan. In either March or April, 1810, Morgan retired and David L. Carney became sole publisher. The last issue was that of June 6, 1810, vol. 2, no. 58, when the title was changed to "The Advertiser," which see.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 20, 1809. A. A. S. has:

1809. Apr. 13.
May 11.
July 19.
Sept. 6, 13^m.

1810. Feb. 28.
Apr. 25.

[Circleville] *Fredonian*, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Removed from Chillicothe and continued at Circleville with the issue of Oct. 9, 1811, vol. 3, no. 4, published by R. D. Richardson & Co. (Robert D. and Thomas H. Richardson), with the title of "The Fredonian." With the issue of Apr. 15, 1812, this firm was dissolved, and R. D. Richardson became sole publisher. The last issue at Circleville was that of Aug. 11, 1812, vol. 3, no. 47, after which the paper was removed back to Chillicothe, where it was continued as "The Fredonian."

Ohio State Lib. has Oct. 16, 1811-Aug. 11, 1812.
Harvard has Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 20, Dec. 18, 1811; Feb. 12, 19, Mar. 18, 1812.

[Circleville] *Olive Branch*, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1817, judging from the date of the earliest issue recorded, that of Oct. 26, 1817, vol. 1, no. 12, published by James Foster, with the title of "The Olive Branch." After a suspension of "more than five weeks," it resumed publication Jan. 21, 1818, with William Henry Benson as printer and Renick, Doan & Co. (James Renick, Guy W. Doan and Joseph M. Hayes) as publishers. Benson's name was omitted from the

imprint as printer in April, 1818, the firm of publishers remaining the same. In February, 1819, the publishers became Olds & Thrall (Joseph Olds and William B. Thrall). With the issue of Apr. 16, 1819, Thrall transferred his interest to Silas S. Geohegan, but in October, 1819, resumed as publisher, the firm again becoming Olds & Thrall. The paper was continued until after 1820 (see Van Cleaf, "History of Pickaway Co.," p. 337).

Circleville Union-Herald Office has Oct. 26, 1817. Lib. Congress has Feb. 18, June 12, July 24, Aug. 18, Nov. 6, 1818; Jan. 1, 8, Feb. 5, 1819; July 7, 1820. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Jan. 14, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 21.

Apr. 11.

May 23, 30^m.

Cleveland Gazette, 1818.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1818, by A[ndrew] Logan, with the title of "The Cleveland Gazette, and Commercial Register." The last issue with this title was that of Sept. 29, 1818, vol. 1, no. 9, after which it was changed to "Cleveland Register," which see.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has July 31 - Sept. 29, 1818.

Cleveland Herald, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 19, 1819, by Z. Willes & Co. (Ziba Willes and Eber D. Howe), with the title of "Cleveland Herald," and so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 19, 1819 - Dec. 26, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1819. Dec. 28.

1820. Jan. 18.

Mar. 28.

Apr. 25.

May 9.

June 13.

Aug. 8^m, 29.

Sept. 12^m, 26^m.

Cleveland Register, 1818-1820.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Cleveland Gazette, and Commercial Register." The first issue with the new title of "Cleveland Register" was that of Oct. 6, 1818, vol. 1, no. 10, published by A[ndrew] Logan. With the issue of Nov. 9, 1819, Logan admitted Carlos V. J. Hickcox to partnership, under the firm name of Logan & Hickcox. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 7, 1820, vol. 2, no. 29.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 6, 1818-Mar. 7, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 20, 1818. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Mar. 23, 1819.

[Clinton] Ohio Register, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established June 26, 1813, by John C. Gilkison & Co., with the title of "The Ohio Register." At some time between Aug. 3 and Oct. 12, 1813, the imprint was changed to published by John C. Gilkison, for Samuel H. Smith. The early issues were of the usual folio size, but within a few months, probably in December, 1813, the size was reduced to quarto, eight pages to the issue, and the publishers to Smith & M'Ardle (Samuel H. Smith and John O. M'Ardle). The last issue located is that of Sept. 19, 1815, vol. 3, no. 4, but in April, 1816, the paper was removed to Mount Vernon, a town a mile and a half away, and there reestablished under the same title.

Lib. Congress has Feb. 14, Sept. 19, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1813. June 26.

Aug. 3.

Oct. 12, 19.

[Columbus] Columbian Gazette, 1815.

W. T. Martin, in his "History of Franklin County," 1858, p. 61, states: "After the discontinuance of the paper by Mr. Gardiner [the 'Freeman's Chronicle,' of Franklinton, expired 1815], the materials passed into the

hands of John Kilbourne, who removed them to Columbus, and published two numbers of a paper called the *Columbian Gazette*; but his enterprise was not likely to succeed to his satisfaction, and the materials were sold out by parcels, and the paper and office discontinued." No copy has been located.

Columbus Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "*Western Intelligencer*." The earliest issue located with the new title of "*Columbus Gazette*" is that of Dec. 4, 1817, vol. 7, no. 2, published by P[hilo] H. Olmsted. It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 4, 1817-Dec. 31, 1818; Jan. 7, 14, Mar. 4, Aug. 26, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 11.

1818. Mar. 19.

Oct. 1.

1819. July 1.

[Columbus] Ohio Monitor, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 16, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 1, 1816, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Smith & Griswold (David Smith and Ezra Griswold, Jr.), with the title of "*Ohio Monitor*." With the issue of Jan. 1, 1817, the paper was printed by Ezra Griswold, Jun. for David Smith, editor and proprietor. At some time between May 14 and June 11, 1818, Griswold's name disappeared from the imprint and the paper was published by David Smith, and was so continued until after 1820.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 1, Dec. 12, 1816; Aug. 14, 1817; May 7, June 11, 18, July 9-23, Sept. 3-17, Oct. 1-15, 29, Nov. 5, Dec. 3, 10, 31, 1818; Jan. 14, Feb. 4, Apr. 1, 22, June 17, July 1, 15-29, Sept. 9, 30, Dec. 2-23, 1819; Apr. 29, June 10, Aug. 5-Sept. 2, Nov. 4, Dec. 2, 1820. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 15, 1816; Jan. 1, 1817; Aug. 13, 1818; Apr. 8, 1819. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 14,

Nov. 13, 1817; Nov. 12-Dec. 3, 17-31, 1818; May 27, June 3, Sept. 2, 16, 23, Oct. 28, Nov. 11, Dec. 16, 1819; Jan. 13, Mar. 28, Apr. 18, May 27, June 10, Nov. 18, 25, 1820. Lib. Congress has Aug. 1, 1816; Feb. 22, 1820. Marietta College has Jan. 9, 30, 1817.

[Columbus] Western Intelligencer, 1814-1817.

Weekly. Removed from Worthington and established at Columbus, without change of title or volume numbering, on Mar. 16, 1814, vol. 3, no. 25, published by Olmsted, Buttles & Griswold (Philo H. Olmsted, Joel Buttles and Ezra Griswold), with the title of "Western Intelligencer." Early in 1815, the firm name was changed to Olmsted, Buttles & Co., and at some time between May 25, 1815, and June 13, 1816, it was again changed to P. H. Olmsted & Co. The title was changed, apparently at the close of 1817, to "Columbus Gazette," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 16, 26, June 4, 11, Aug. 13, 1814; Apr. 20-May 4, 18, 25, 1815. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 13, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1814. Dec. 10.

[Dayton] Ohio Centinel, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established May 3, 1810, by Isaac G. Burnet, with the title of "The Ohio Centinel." The paper was discontinued with the issue of May 19, 1813, vol. 3, no. 156, when Burnet stated that he had disposed of his interest and that the paper would not again appear until May 31. Upon this date it was succeeded by the "Ohio Republican."

Dayton Pub. Lib. has May 10, 1810-May 19, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1813. Apr. 21, 28.

[Dayton] Ohio Republican, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established May 31, 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 1, 1813, vol. 1, no. 23, published by Pettit & Strain (M—— S. Pettit and —— Strain), with the title of "Ohio Republican."

In this issue of Nov. 1, the publishers state that they had purchased the interest of Capt. A[braham] Edwards. In March 1814, M. S. Pettit became sole publisher, but with the issue of May 3, 1814, he disposed of the paper to Addison Smith & Co. In the issue of July 18, 1814, Smith stated that James Lodge had become the proprietor, but the imprint of Addison Smith & Co. continued until Sept. 26, 1814. With the issue of Oct. 3, 1814, Burnet & Lodge (Isaac G. Burnet and James Lodge) became the publishers and adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Nov. 20, 1815, Burnet removed from the county and James Lodge became sole publisher. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Oct. 9, 1816, vol. 3, no. 106.

Dayton Pub. Lib. has Oct. 3, 1814-Oct. 9, 1816.
A. A. S. has:

1813. Nov. 1.

1814. Jan. 4.

Feb. 1^m, 8, 15^m, 22.

Apr. 12, 19.

May 16, 23, 30.

June 27.

July 18, 25.

Aug. 8, 15.

Sept. 26.

Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24.

Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26.

Dec. 3, 17.

1815. Jan. 2.

Feb. 20, 27.

Mar. 13.

May 22.

June 12, 26.

July 3, 17, 24.

Aug. 7, 14, 21, 28.

Sept. 18, 25.

Oct. 9, 30.

Dec. 18.

1816. Jan. 1, 8, 15.
Feb. 5.
May 13, 29.
June 5, 12, 19.
July 10, 17.
Aug. 14, 28.
Sept. 4, 11, 18.
Oct. 2.

[Dayton] *Ohio Watchman*, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 27, 1816, by Robert J. Skinner, with the title of "The Ohio Watchman." With the issue of Dec. 25, 1820, the title was changed to "Dayton Watchman and Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal," published by George S. Houston and R. J. Skinner. The above facts are taken from the "History of Montgomery County," 1882, p. 707, since the practically complete file once owned by the Dayton Public Library was lost in the flood of Mar. 25, 1913.

N. J. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1, 1818; Jan. 14, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Oct. 23.

Dayton Repertory, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Sept. 23, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 30, 1808, vol. 1, no. 2, published by William M'Clure & George Smith, with the title of "The Dayton Repertory." Because of the removal of the office, the paper was suspended with the issue of Oct. 21, 1808, and not resumed until Feb. 1, 1809, when the title was altered to "Dayton Repertory" and the publishers became Henry Disbrow & William M'Clure, Smith having sold out his interest. With the issue of Mar. 8, 1809, the title of "The Dayton Repertory" was resumed. The last issue located is that of Dec. 14, 1809, vol. 1, no. 51.

Dayton Pub. Lib. has Sept. 30, 1808-Dec. 14, 1809.

Dayton Watchman, see [Dayton] *Ohio Watchman*.

Delaware Gazette, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in October, 1818, according to the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 22, 1819, vol. 1, no. 42, published by J. Drake & Co., with the title of "Delaware Gazette, and Religious Informer." Its first publishers were Drake & Hughs (Jacob Drake and Joseph S. Hughs), and in the spring of 1819 it was published by this firm (see Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). It must have started a new volume numbering in May, 1820, since the issue of Jan. 3, 1821, printed by Jay Handy for Rev. Jacob Drake, is vol. 1, no. 32.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Jan. 3, 1821. A. A. S. has:

1819. July 22.

Eaton Weekly Register, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1820 by Samuel Tizzard (see Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[Eaton] Western Telegraph, 1817-1818.

Weekly. Established Aug. 1, 1817, judging from the date of the earliest and only issue located, that of Dec. 5, 1817, vol. 1, no. 17, published by C[ornelius] Vanausdal & Co., with the title of "The Western Telegraph." It is recorded as published by Cornelius Vanausdal in the list of papers of the spring of 1818 in Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141, but is not included by Kilbourn in the 1819 list. The 1881 "History of Preble County" states that the paper was started in 1816 by Messrs. Blackburn and John A. Daly, and was continued by Vanausdal.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 5.

[Franklinton] Freeman's Chronicle, 1812-1815.

Weekly. Established June 25, 1812, by James B. Gardiner, with the title of "Freeman's Chronicle." The

last issue located is that of Nov. 14, 1814, vol. 3, no. 8, and the paper was discontinued in 1815.

Harvard has Sept. 5, 12, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Dec. 5, 1812; Jan. 22, Mar. 12, Apr. 16, July 16, Aug. 13, 27, Oct. 1, 29, Nov. 19, 26, 1813; Feb. 18, 25, Apr. 8, 15, May 20, June 3, 10, Sept. 16, 23, Oct. 14, Nov. 14, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1812. July 2, 9, 16.

1814. Feb. 11.

May 20.

[Gallipolis] *Gallia Gazette*, 1819-1820+.

Established in November, 1818, by Joshua Cushing, and continued after 1820 (Kilbourn, "*Ohio Gazetteer*," 1819, p. 169, and "*Ohio Centennial Celebration*," 1903, p. 575). No copy located.

Hamilton Gazette, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 12, 1819, by Camron & Murray (James B. Camron and John L. Murray), with the title of "*Hamilton Gazette & Miami Register*." It succeeded "*The Miami Herald*," and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Jan. 25, 1820, the title was altered to "*The Hamilton Gazette and Miami Register*." Continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Oct. 12, 1819-Dec. 20, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 21-Mar. 6, Apr. 3, June 12, July 17, 1820.

[Hamilton] *Miami Herald*, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established Sept. 12, 1817, by W. & J. Camron, & Co. (Wesley and James B. Camron), with the title of "*The Miami Herald*." It succeeded "*The Philanthropist*" and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. The last issue with this title was that of Oct. 5, 1819, vol. 2, no. 104, when it was succeeded by the *Hamilton Gazette*, which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Sept. 12, 1817-Oct. 5, 1819. N. J.

Hist. Soc. has Nov. 4, 1818; Jan. 5, July 20, Aug. 17, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 5.

1818. July 8.

[Hamilton] *Miami Intelligencer*, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1814, with the title of "Miami Intelligencer." There was no imprint giving the names of publishers, but the prospectus was signed by Keen & Stewart (William C. Keen and Andrew Stewart) and Colby & Bonnell (Zebulon Colby and——— Bonnell), who had planned rival newspapers, but had decided to consolidate their two establishments. With the issue of July 20, 1814, the firm was termed Keen, Colby & Co. With the issue of Sept. 19, 1814, Colby and Bonnell withdrew, the publishers became Keen & Stewart, and the title was altered to "The Miami Intelligencer." With the issue of Nov. 14, 1814, Colby returned to the firm, which became Keen, Colby & Co. With the issue of May 4, 1815, Andrew Stewart disposed of his interest to William Murray, and the firm became Keen, Colby & Murray. The last issue located with this title is that of Feb. 2, 1816, vol. 2, no. 76, and in the following month it was succeeded by "The Philanthropist," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has June 29, 1814-Feb. 2, 1816. Harvard has Aug. 29, Sept. 19, Oct. 3, 10, 24, Nov. 7, 28, Dec. 5, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. June 22.

Aug. 3, 7, 15, 22, 29.

Sept. 5, 12.

[Hamilton] *Philanthropist*, 1816-1817.

Weekly. Established Mar. 29, 1816, by Smith, Colby & Co. (Addison Smith and Zebulon Colby), with the title of "The Philanthropist." It succeeded "The Miami Intelligencer," and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Aug. 23, 1816, Smith withdrew, and the firm became Z. Colby & Co. The last issue located with this title is that

of Apr. 17, 1817, vol. 1, no. 51, and in September, 1817, it was succeeded by "The Miami Herald," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 29, 1816-Apr. 17, 1817.
A. A. S. has:

1816. Apr. 12, 26.

May 31.

Aug. 9, 23.

Oct. 11.

Dec. 12.

Hillsborough Gazette, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 18, 1818, by Moses Carothers, with the title of "Hillsborough Gazette; and Highland Advertiser." Continued until after 1820.

Hillsboro Gazette office has June 18, 1818-Dec. 28, 1820.

Lancaster Correspondent, 1814.

In "The Ohio Eagle" of July 13, 1814, published at Lancaster, the publishers, Shæffer, Clifton & Gastor, state "The publication of the Lancaster Correspondent will in future be discontinued, its proprietors having become partners in the establishment of the Ohio Eagle." In "The Supporter," of Chillicothe, of Mar. 12, 1814, there is an advertisement signed by Edward Shæffer, Feb. 26, 1814, stating that a German newspaper was being published at Lancaster, in which same issue was another advertisement from the "Ohio Eagle" office at Lancaster.

[Lancaster] Independent Press, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established probably in March, 1811, since its recent beginning is referred to in "The Ohio Centinel" of Dayton, of Apr. 18, 1811, and it is quoted in "The Supporter," of Chillicothe, of Mar. 30, 1811. The only issue located is that of Sept. 12, 1812, vol. 2, no. 70, printed by R[ussell] E. Post, for the Proprietors. A. A. Graham, "History of Fairfield and Perry Counties," 1883, pt. 3, p. 171, states that the proprietor was George Sanderson, and mentions a copy of Nov. 21, 1812.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 12.

[Lancaster] Ohio Adler, see Ohio Eagle.

[Lancaster] Ohio Eagle, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. It is stated in Seidensticker, "First Century of German Printing in America," p. 170 (quoting "Der Deutsche Pionier," vol. 16, p. 218), that this paper was established in 1807 by Carpenter & Green (Joseph Carpenter and John Green), with the title of "Der Westliche Adler von Lancaster," the name being later changed to "Der Ohio Adler." The English paper probably began in 1812. In "The Fredonian," of Chillicothe, of Sept. 16, 1812, there is an advertisement, dated Aug. 22, 1812, asking that all subscriptions for the Ohio Eagle and also the German Ohio Eagle should be sent to the editor at Lancaster, as the first number of each paper was expected to appear about September 1. The first issue located is that of July 9, 1813, vol. 4, no. 166, new series, published by Jacob D. Dietrick, with the title of "Ohio Eagle," which would seem to show that the new series began in May, 1810. The issue of July 30, 1814, entitled "The Ohio Eagle," was published by Shæffer, Clifton, & Gastor, and was the first issue published by them. In this issue Jacob D. Dietrick states that he has disposed of the establishment to the new proprietors, and that the subscribers owe him for the English Eagle up to no. 57, and for the German Eagle up to no. 78. With the issue of Aug. 13, the firm was dissolved and the paper was published by Shæffer, & Gastor. With the issue of Oct. 15, 1814, the title reverted to "Ohio Eagle," and the names of the publishers were given as E[dward] Shæffer & H. Gastor. In 1817, and possibly before, the paper was published by John Herman, the title being "The Ohio Eagle," and he continued it until after 1820.

All the early issues located are wholly in English. The earliest issue in German located is that of Dec. 20, 1817, no. 249, published by Johann Herman, with the title of "Der Deutsche Ohio Adler." The next located, also by Herman, is entitled "Ohio Adler," Jan. 22, 1820, old no. 334, new no. 48. So continued until after 1820.

Harvard has July 9, 1813, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 15, Nov. 12, 19, 1814. Allen Co. Hist. Soc., Lima, has Nov. 13, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1814. July 30.

Aug. 13, 20.

Sept. 24.

Oct. 1.

1817. May 15.

Dec. 11.

1817. Ohio Adler, Dec. 20.

1820. Ohio Adler, Jan. 22.

[Lancaster] Political Observatory, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established July 28, 1810, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 8, 1810, vol. 1, no. 7, published by George Sanderson, for Peter Parcels & Co., with the title of "Political Observatory, and Fairfield Register." It was continued into 1811, and the "Independent Press," which was established in that year, succeeded it. The fact that it had "recently changed its name" is recorded in the "Muskingum Messenger," of Zanesville, of Apr. 6, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Sept. 8, 15.

[Lancaster] Western Oracle, 1806-1807.

Weekly. Established Oct. 24, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 6, 1807, printed by J[acob] Hinkle, with the title of "Western Oracle and the Farmers Weekly Museum." Hinkle evidently retired, for the issue of Apr. 10, 1807, announced that the paper had been purchased by E[lijah] B. Merwin and J[——] Wilson, although the only imprint was "Printed for the Editors." The last issue located is that of May 29, 1807, vol. 1, no. 32. In the "Scioto Gazette," Chillicothe, Dec. 21, 1807, is an advertisement regarding Chillicothe subscribers to the Western Oracle, signed by E. B. Merwin and J. Wilson.

Harvard has Mar. 20, Apr. 10-24, May 29, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Feb. 6.

Lebanon] Farmer, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established in December, 1816, judging from the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 12, 1817, vol. 2, no. 53, published by George Smith, with the title of "The Farmer." It was published early in 1818 by George Smith (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141) and is referred to in the "Ohio Monitor" of Columbus, Aug. 13, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 12.

[Lebanon] Western Star, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 13, 1807, by John M'CLean, with the title of "The Western Star." At the beginning of 1810, the paper was published by Crane & M'CLean (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 304). Noah Crane, one of the editors, died Aug. 21, 1810 ("The Western Spy," Cincinnati, Sept. 1, 1810). In "The History of Warren County," 1882, p. 310, it is stated that the issue of Sept. 10, 1810, was published by Nathaniel M'CLean; that John M'CLean disposed of the paper to his brother Nathaniel, who from 1810 to 1814, had as successive partners, Noah Crane, Adjet McGuire, Samuel H. Hale, Henry Lazier, William Blackburn, Samuel Blackburn and Joseph Henderson; and that about 1814 he disposed of the paper to his brother William M'CLean. The only paper located during these four years is that of Sept. 23, 1813, reduced in size to a quarto of 8 pages and published by Nathaniel M'CLean & William Blackburn. During the year prior to November, 1816, George Smith was publisher, for nine months as sole editor and for three months in company with John Eddy (see Eddy's statement in issue of Jan. 31, 1817). A new series was started, in folio, Nov. 29, 1816, by Van Vleet & Eddy (Abram Van Vleet and John Eddy). With the issue of Jan. 10, 1817, William A. Camron was added to the firm, which became known as Van Vleet, Eddy and Camron. With the issue of Feb. 19, 1817, Eddy was replaced by ——— Cunningham, and the firm became

Van Vleet, Camron and Cunningham. With the issue of Apr. 30, 1817, Cunningham withdrew, the firm becoming VanVleet and Camron. Late in 1818 or early in 1819, Abram VanVleet became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has May 8, 1807. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 25, 1807. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 23, 1813; Apr. 13, 20, May 18, 1819; June 6, July 11, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Aug. 4, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Feb. 13.

1808. June 30.

1816. Dec. 27.

1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 30.

Feb. 7, 19, 26.

Mar. 5^m, 12, 19, 26.

Apr. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

May 7.

Dec. 11.

1818. Jan. 24.

[Mansfield] Olive, 1818-1820.

Weekly. Established in April, 1818, by John C. Gilkison, with the title of the "Olive." Shortly after it started, John Fleming became a partner of Mr. Gilkison, and they continued the paper for about a year, when Mr. Gilkison sold his interest to Robert Crosthwaite, who, in a few weeks, also purchased Fleming's interest. Crosthwaite then carried on the paper very irregularly for eight or ten months, when he failed (A. A. Graham, "History of Richland County," p. 487.) No copy located.

[Marietta] American Friend, 1813-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 24, 1813, with the title of "American Friend," edited by D[avid] Everett, and printed by T[homas] G. Ransom for D. Everett, T[imothy] Buell & D[aniel] H. Buell. Everett died Dec. 21, 1813, and with the issue of Jan. 1, 1814, the paper was edited by D. H. Buell, and printed by T. G. Ransom for

T. & D. H. Buell. From scarcity of paper, publication was suspended from Feb. 26 to Apr. 9, 1814, and with the issue of Apr. 16, 1814, the paper was printed and published by T. & D. H. Buell and R[oyal] Prentiss. From scarcity of paper, publication was again suspended from Jan. 12 to Mar. 15, 1816, with which latter issue the paper was purchased and published by Royal Prentiss, who adopted a new series volume numbering. Publication was suspended from Mar. 6 to May 8, 1818, for want of patronage. The paper was continued by Prentiss until after 1820.

Marietta Coll. has Apr. 24, 1813-Dec. 29, 1820. Harvard has May 29, June 12-July 17, 31, Aug. 14, 28, Sept. 11, 18, Nov. 6, 27, Dec. 4, 25, 1813; Jan. 8, 15, 29-Feb. 12, 26, Apr. 9-23, May 14, June 18, 1814. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 10, Aug. 16, 1816; Jan. 1, Feb. 5-Mar. 5, 1819; May 5, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has July 14, 1815. Lib. Congress has Aug. 30, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1813. Apr. 24 to Dec. 25.

Missing: May 1, 8, 22, June 5, 19, July 3, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 18.

1814. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Mutilated: May 28, July 30.

Missing: Jan. 8, Feb. 26, Apr. 23, May 7, July 23, Aug. 20, Nov. 12, Dec. 17.

1815. Jan. 7 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: May 5.

Missing: Feb. 4, Mar. 31, Apr. 7, 14, 21, 28, June 9, 16, 23, 30, July 28, Aug. 4, 11, 25, Sept. 1, Oct. 13, Nov. 17, Dec. 15.

1816. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.

Mutilated: Apr. 26.

Missing: Jan. 5, Apr. 12, May 24, June 7, 21, 28, July 5, 12, 19, 26, Aug. 2, 30, Sept. 6, Oct. 4, 18, Nov. 1.

1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21.
Mar. 28.
Apr. 11, 18, 25.
Dec. 12.

[*Marietta*] **Commentator**, 1807-1810.

Weekly. Established Sept. 16, 1807, by James B. Gardiner, with the title of "The Commentator; and *Marietta Recorder*." After a suspension of nearly four months in the summer of 1808, it was resumed with the title of "The Commentator." In October, 1808, judging from the volume numbering of subsequent issues, Joseph Israel was taken into partnership, under the firm name of Israel & Gardiner, and a new volume numbering was adopted. This firm was dissolved Sept. 21, 1810 (see advertisement in "*Western Spectator*" of Oct. 30, 1810), and the paper was discontinued.

Harvard has Oct. 14, 1807; Mar. 25, Aug. 25, 1808. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 4, 11, 1808. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Apr. 3, 1810. Detroit Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1807. Sept. 16.
Oct. 14, 29.
1808. Aug. 25.
1809. June 10, 24.
July 1.
Nov. 25.
1810. Jan. 16^m.
Mar. 13.
Apr. 3, 17.
June 5, 26.

[*Marietta*] **Ohio Gazette**, 1801-1811.

Weekly. Established Dec. 18, 1801, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 1, 1802, vol. 1, no. 3, printed by Wyllys Silliman, with the title of "The Ohio Gazette, and the Territorial and Virginia Herald." Elijah Backus was the editor of the paper,

although his name did not appear in the imprint. I. W. Andrews, in his "Washington County," 1877, p. 55, states that within two years, Silliman sold his interest to Backus, who soon afterwards sold to Fairlamb & Gates. In April, 1805, Samuel Fairlamb became sole publisher and adopted a new volume numbering, judging from the issue of Sept. 26, 1805, vol. 1, no. 23, published by Samuel Fairlamb, with the title of "The Ohio Gazette, and Virginia Herald." It was so continued, although somewhat irregularly, to the date of the last issue located, that of Dec. 9, 1811, vol. 5, no. 215.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 26, 1805. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 18, 1806; Mar. 7, 14, May 11, June 16, 23, 1808. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Aug. 11, Sept. 15, 1808; Sept. 7, 1809; May 21, 1810; Oct. 7, 28, 1811. Marietta Coll. has Aug. 25, 1808. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Mar. 20, 1809. Lib. Congress has Oct. 28, 1811. A. A. S. has:

- 1802. Jan. 1, 15.
Feb. 5.
Aug. 17, 31.
Sept. 7, 14, 28.
Oct. 4, 11, 18.
- 1806. Apr. 24.
- 1809. Feb. 20.
Mar. 20.
Apr. 3, 10.
- 1810. May 21.
- 1811. Oct. 14, 28.
Nov. 11, 25.
Dec. 9.

[Marietta] *Western Spectator*, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established Oct. 23, 1810, with the title of "Western Spectator," printed by Joseph Israel, for Caleb Emerson. Israel retired in November, 1811. The paper bore no imprint from Nov. 23 to Dec. 7, 1811, and with the issue of Dec. 14, 1811, it was published by Thomas G. Ransom for Caleb Emerson. After a long struggle with

scarcity of paper and patronage, it was suspended with the issue of May 22, 1813, vol. 3, no. 25, although a later and final issue appeared on July 31, 1813, vol. 3, no. 26.

Marietta Coll. has Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1810; Jan. 21, Feb. 5-19, Mar. 5, 19, 26-Apr. 26, Aug. 17, Sept. 7-21, Oct. 5, 19, 1811-July 31, 1813. Harvard has Nov. 13, 1810; Jan. 14, Mar. 5, 12, May 4, June 8, 29, July 6, 23, Aug. 3, Sept. 7, 21, Oct. 8, 26, Nov. 2, 11, Dec. 21, 1811; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1, 15, 29, Mar. 21, May 2-23, July 11, 18, Aug. 8, Oct. 3, 17, 1812; Jan. 23, Mar. 6, 13, 20, May 5, July 31, 1813. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 30, 1810. Detroit Pub. Lib. has May 18, Oct. 8, 1811. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 22, Mar. 14, 1812. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 12, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. Oct. 30.

Nov. 6, 13, 27.

Dec. 4.

1811. Mar. 12.

May 11.

June 1.

1812. Jan. 25.

1813. July 31.

[Mount Pleasant] Philanthropist, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 8, 1817, by Charles Osborn, with the title of "The Philanthropist." It was a quarto newspaper of eight pages, with pagination. On Oct. 8, 1818, it was purchased by Elisha Bates, who with the issue of Dec. 11, 1818, changed it to a sixteen-page octavo and adopted a new series volume numbering. It was so continued until after 1820. The octavo volumes each had a title-page and index (see also J. B. Doyle, "History of Steubenville and Jefferson County," 1910, pp. 316).

Western Reserve Hist Soc. has Dec. 11, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 24, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 26.

[Mount Vernon] Ohio Register, 1816-1819.

Weekly. Removed from Clinton and established at Mount Vernon, Apr. 24, 1816, by John P. M'Ardle, with

a new volume numbering, but the same title, "The Ohio Register." It was a paper of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue. The last issue recorded is that of Apr. 15, 1818, vol. 2, no. 52 (A. B. Norton, "History of Knox County," p. 247), but it was still published in the spring of 1819 (J. Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169).

Lib. Congress has May 8, June 5-July 17, 31, 1816.
Marietta College has Oct. 9, 1816. A. A. S. has:
1817. Dec. 10.

[New Lisbon] Ohio Patriot, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established in December, 1808, by William D. Lepper, as a small German sheet, entitled "Der Patriot am Ohio." It was soon discontinued, and in 1809, it was reestablished as an English paper, with the title of "The Ohio Patriot" ("History of Columbiana County," 1879, p. 114). The earliest issue located is that of Dec. 2, 1809, vol. 1, no. 4, published by William D. Lepper. It was continued by Lepper until after 1820.

Ohio State Museum has Dec. 2, 1809. Lib. Congress has Mar. 31, 1813; June 29, July 20, Dec. 21, 1816.
A. A. S. has:

1818. May 2.

[New Philadelphia] Tuscarawas Chronicle, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 24, 1819, by James Patrick, with the title of "The Tuscarawas Chronicle," and so continued until after 1820 (see "History of Tuscarawas County", 1884, p. 485).

Piqua Gazette, 1820+.

Weekly. Established July 6, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 27, 1820, vol. 1, no. 4, published by William R. Barrington, with the title of "The Piqua Gazette." Continued until after 1820.

J. A. Rayner, Piqua, has July 27, 1820.

Portsmouth Gazette, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established Aug. 5, 1818, by Abbott & Chaney (Jeremiah Abbott and ——— Chaney), with the title of "Portsmouth Gazette." It was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 17, 1819, vol. 1, no. 26.

Ohio State Lib. has Aug. 5, 1818-Mar. 17, 1819.

[Portsmouth] Scioto Telegraph, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 4, 1820, by C[harles] Hopkins, with the title of "The Scioto Telegraph." With the issue of Oct. 5, 1820, the title was altered to "The Scioto Telegraph and Lawrence Gazette," the paper being edited by C. Hopkins and printed by Jeremiah Abbott. It was "published in Portsmouth on Thursday, and in Burlington on Friday," although the printing-office was located in Portsmouth. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 4-Dec. 28, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 4, 1820.

[St. Clairsville] Belmont Journal, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in August, 1818, by Alexander Armstrong (Caldwell, "History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties," 1880, p. 233). It was published in the spring of 1819 by Armstrong and also in 1821 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169, and 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[St. Clairsville] Belmont Repository, 1811-1814.

Weekly. Established Dec. 14, 1811, by Alexander Armstrong, with the title of "Belmont Repository." There is a quotation from the paper in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Jan. 19, 1814.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 21, 1811; Feb. 8, 29, Mar. 7, 1812.

[St. Clairsville] Impartial Expositor, 1809.

Weekly. Established Mar. 25, 1809, by John C. Gilkinson, & Co., with the title of "Impartial Expositor." This initial issue is the only one located.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Mar. 25.

[St. Clairsville] Ohio Federalist, 1813-1818.

Weekly. Established May 12, 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 15, 1813, vol. 1, no. 19, printed by J[ohn] Berry, for C[harles] Hammond (see also reference in "Western Spectator," Marietta, of May 22, 1813). With the issue of Nov. 23, 1814, Berry withdrew and the paper was published by C. Hammond & A[lexander] Armstrong, the title was changed to "Ohio Federalist, and Belmont Repository," and a new volume numbering was adopted. It was so continued to the last issue located, that of Jan. 15, 1818, vol. 4, no. 158.

Marietta Coll. has Jan. 15, 12, Mar. 2, 16, May 4, June 8, 29, Aug. 3, Nov. 30, 1814; Jan. 5, 26, Oct. 6, 1815; Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 22, Mar. 14, 28, Apr. 25, May 16, June 6, 13, July 25, Sept. 5-26, Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 21, Dec. 12, 1816; Jan. 2, 9, 30, Mar. 20, Aug. 28, Sept. 18, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 1817; Jan. 15, 1818. Univ. of Chicago has Sept. 15, 1813; Apr. 13, 1814-Sept. 14, 1815, fair. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Nov. 2, 1814. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 18, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1813. Sept. 29.

1817. Dec. 11.

St. Clairsville] True American, 1815.

There is a quotation from the "St. Clairsville True Amer.," in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Mar. 15, 1815. No copy located.

[Springfield] Farmer, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in February, 1819, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 4, 1819, vol. 1, no. 25, published by Geoghegan & Rogers (——— Geoghegan and Henry Rogers), with the title of "The Farmer." At some time between Aug. 4 and Nov. 10, 1819, Henry Rogers became sole publisher. The paper was continued until after 1820, although probably in that year the title was changed to "Farmer's Advocate"; at least this was the title early in 1821 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," p. 191.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 10, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1819. Aug. 4.

[Steubenville] Western Herald, 1806-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 7, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 16, 1806, vol. 1, no. 11, published by W[illiam] Lowry, and J[ohn] Miller, with the title of "The Western Herald." At some time between Aug. 19, 1808, and Nov. 6, 1811, John Miller became sole publisher, but at some time between the latter date and Nov. 5, 1812, Miller entered the military service and William Lowry became the publisher. With the issue of April 20, 1815, Lowry sold the paper to James Wilson. With the issue of Jan. 3, 1817, Wilson enlarged the title to "Western Herald & Steubenville Gazette." It was so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 16, 1806-Aug. 19, 1808; Mar. 18, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 6, 1815-Dec. 26, 1817. Lib. Congress has Nov. 6, 1811; Jan. 28, 1813; Aug. 17, 1815; Nov. 1, 1816; Mar. 21, 1817; Jan. 2, 1819-Dec. 30, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has Feb. 7, 1817-Nov. 20, 1820. Penn. State Lib. has July 3, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1812. Nov. 5, 12.

1816. Feb. 23.

June 21.

Sept. 6, 27.

1817. July 4^m.

Dec. 12.

[Troy] Miami Weekly Post, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 16, 1820, judging from the date of the only issue noted, that of June 15, 1820, vol. 1, no. 14 (see Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 42). Early in 1821 the paper was published by W. Doherty & Co. (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191.)

[Urbana] Farmer's Watch-Tower, 1812.

Established in June, 1812, by Corwin and Blackburn, (Moses B. Corwin and ——— Blackburn) with the title of "The Farmer's Watch-Tower" (Venable, "Beginnings

of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 41). No copy located.

Urbana Gazette, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established in May, 1817, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Dec. 23, 1817, vol. 1, no. 32, published by Allen M. Poff, with the title of "Urbana Gazette." It was still published by Poff in the spring of 1819 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169).

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 23.

[Urbana] Spirit of Liberty, 1814.

There is a reference to the "Spirit of Liberty," dated at Urbana, Feb. 8, 1814, in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Feb. 16, 1814. No copy located.

[Urbana] Ways of the World, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in July, 1820, by A[——] R. Colwell, with the title of "The Ways of the World" (Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 41; Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[Warren] Trump of Fame, 1812-1816.

Weekly. Established June 9, 1812, with the title of "Trump of Fame," by David Fleming for Thomas D. Webb. The second issue, on June 16, was also numbered vol. 1, no. 1, by mistake, or possibly June 9 was considered a preliminary issue. With the issue of Nov. 3, 1813, the paper was published by James White & Co. [Thomas D. Webb]. Samuel Quinby replaced Webb in the firm in 1814, but retired in about a year, as James White was sole publisher at some time previous to May 10, 1816. With the issue of Aug. 9, 1816, White sold out to F[itch] Bissell. The issue of Sept. 27, 1816, was the last with the title of "Trump of Fame," and on Oct. 4, 1816, the title was changed to "Western Reserve Chronicle," which see.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 16, 1812-Oct. 26, 1814; May 10, 17, July 12-Aug. 16, Sept. 13-27, 1816. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has June 16-Dec. 23, 1812. New London Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 17, 1813. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Mar. 16, 1814. Detroit Pub. Lib. has July 5, 1816. Several libraries have the facsimile issue of June 9, 1812. A. A. S. has:

1812. June 9 (fac-sim)

Nov. 5.

Dec. 30.

1814. Jan. 19.

Feb. 2, 9, 16.

Mar. 2, 10, 30.

June 15.

July 27.

[Warren] *Western Reserve Chronicle*, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 4, 1816, by F[itch] Bissell, with the title of "*Western Reserve Chronicle*," and succeeding the "*Trump of Fame*," but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Jan. 24, 1817, the title became "*The Western Reserve Chronicle*," and the publishers F. Bissell & W. Smith, but with Feb. 28, 1817, F. Bissell was given as sole publisher, and with Mar. 14, 1817, S. Quinby, & Co. (Samuel Quinby and Elihu Spencer) became the publishers. With the issue of Mar. 4, 1819, George Hapgood replaced Spencer in the firm, and with July 1, 1819, Otis Sprague replaced Quinby, the firm then becoming Hapgood & Sprague. With the issue of Oct. 1820, E—— R. Thompson replaced Sprague, and the firm became Hapgood & Thompson. It was so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 11, 1816-Sept. 24, Oct. 29, 1818; Aug. 19, Sept. 30, 1819; May 4-18, June 15, 22, Sept. 14, Nov. 9, Dec. 14, 1820. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Dec. 20, 1816; May 25, June 15, Sept. 14, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has July 17, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1816. Nov. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

Dec. 6.

1817. July 3, 17.

Dec. 4.

[West Union] **Political Censor**, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established in March, 1815, judging from the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 20, 1817, vol. 3, no. 42, published by James Finley, with the title of "Political Censor." The paper is listed in the 1818, 1819 and 1821 editions of Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer" as published by James Finley.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 20.

[Williamsburgh] **Clermont Sentinel**, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1818, by Charles D. McManaman ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 151). It is referred to in Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169, as published in the spring of 1819 by C. D. M'Manaman. No copy located.

[Williamsburg] **Farmers' Friend**, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in February, 1820, judging from the only copy noted, that of July 21, 1821, no. 77, published by William A. Camron, with the title of "The Farmers' Friend" (Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 42). No copy located.

[Williamsburgh] **Political Censor**, 1813.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1813, by Thomas S. Foote and Robert Tweed, with the title of "The Political Censor," but discontinued probably within a year ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 150). The prospectus was published in the Chillicothe "Supporter" of June 20, 1812. No copy located.

[Williamsburg] Western American, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established in August, 1814, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 25, 1815, vol. 1, no. 30, published by Morris & Ely. The date of establishment is given as Aug. 5, 1814, and the names of the publishers as David Morris and George Ely ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 151). The paper is quoted in the "Union" of Washington, Ky., of May 31, 1816.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 25, Mar. 11, 1815.

[Wooster] Ohio Spectator, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 6, 1817, judging from the volume numbering and advertisements of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 21, 1817, vol. 1, no. 25, published by Cox & Hickeox (Levi Cox and Asa W. Hickeox), with the title of "The Ohio Spectator." Before the end of 1817, Cox withdrew, and the paper was published by Hickeox & Baldwin ("Ohio Monitor," Columbus, Jan. 1, 1818). Within a year, certainly previous to the spring of 1819, Samuel Baldwin, Jr., became sole publisher (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). Baldwin died in office May 18, 1820 ("Ohio Monitor," Columbus, June 10, 1820). It is stated in Douglass, "History of Wayne County", 1878, p. 357, that after Baldwin's death, the paper was edited by Thomas Townsend and printed by Joseph Clingan, and expired before the end of the year, although later revived.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Nov. 21.

[Worthington] Columbian Advocate, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 7, 1820, by Ezra Griswold, Jr., with the title of "Columbian Advocate and Franklin Chronicle", according to the evidence of a complete file described in the "History of Delaware County," 1880, p. 249, but now not located. The prospectus of the paper is printed in the "Ohio Monitor," of Columbus, of Sept.

2, 1819. At some time previous to June 19, 1820, the title was shortened to "Franklin Chronicle," and the publishers became Griswold & Spencer, by whom the paper was continued after 1820.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1820.

[Worthington] *Franklin Chronicle*, see *Columbian Advocate*.

[Worthington] *Western Intelligencer*, 1811-1814.

Weekly. Established in August, 1811, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 7, 1812; vol. 1, no. 25, published by Buttles & Smith (Joel Buttles and George Smith), with the title of "Western Intelligencer." In December, 1812, the firm was dissolved and Smith retired. The issues early in 1813 bear no publisher's imprint, but according to A. E. Lee, "History of Columbus," vol. 1, p. 423, the publishers at this period were Joel Buttles, James H. Hills and Ezra Griswold. In the spring of 1813, Buttles retired in favor of Philo H. Olmsted, and the publishing firm became Olmsted, Hills & Griswold. The last Worthington issue located is that of Nov. 3, 1813, vol. 3, no. 8, although judging from later volume numbering it was discontinued at Worthington with the issue of Feb. 23, 1814, vol. 3, no. 24, and removed to Columbus, where it was reestablished under the same title on Mar. 16, 1814.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 7, 1812. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 9, 16, 1812. Harvard has Dec. 16, 1812; Jan. 20, Feb. 10, 17, 1813. Ohio State Lib. has Feb. 17, June 9, 23, July 14, 28, Aug. 4, Oct. 6-20, Nov. 3, 1813. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 1, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1813. Oct. 13.

[Xenia] *Ohio Vehicle*, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established in January, 1814, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 14, 1815, vol. 2, no. 5, published by Pelham & Smith (Samuel Pelham and George Smith), with the title of "Ohio

Vehicle." The last issue located is that of Oct. 24, 1815, vol. 2, no. 39.

Green Co. Lib., Xenia, has Feb. 14-Oct. 24, 1815.

[Xenia] Reading Room, 1819.

Weekly. A paper with the title of "Reading Room" was published in the spring of 1819 by John Kendall (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). No copy located.

Zanesville Express, 1812-1820.

Weekly. Established Dec. 30, 1812, by Putnam & Israel (Edwin Putnam and Joseph Israel), with the title of "Zanesville Express, and Republican Standard." With the issue of Dec. 28, 1814, Jonathan Clark was added to the firm, which became Putnam, Israel & Clark. With the issue of May 25, 1815, Israel withdrew and the firm became Putnam & Clark. With the issue of Nov. 14, 1816, Dunham replaced Clark in the firm, which became Putnam & Dunham. In 1817, the paper was transferred to Horace Reed & Co., changed early in 1818 to Horace Reed. In June, 1820 the paper was purchased by O'Hara & Barrett (——— O'Hara and ——— Barrett) and the title was changed to "The Express & Public Advertiser." It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 30, 1812-Dec. 19, 1816. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Jan. 5, 1813; Jan. 30, 1817; June 3, 1818; Nov. 3, Dec. 29, 1819; Jan. 5-19, Feb. 2, 23, Mar. 1, 8, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Jan. 5, 1813. Marietta Coll. has Mar. 16, June 8, Aug. 31, Nov. 9, Dec. 21, 1815; Sept. 1, 1819; Feb. 2, 16-June 3, July 1-Aug. 5, Sept. 12, 19, 1820. Lib. Congress has Dec. 28, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1813. June 30.

1815. Oct. 5.

1817. Dec. 18.

1818. July 29.

[Zanesville] Muskingum Messenger, 1809-1820.

Weekly. Established Nov. 18, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 6, 1810, vol. 1, no. 8, published by White, Sawyer, & Co. (Joseph W. White and Porter Sawyer), with the title of "Muskingum Messenger." In either July or August, 1810, the "Co." was omitted and the paper published by White & Sawyer. With the issue of Dec. 8, 1810, the title was enlarged to "Muskingum Messenger and Ohio Intelligencer" and David Chambers was added to the firm, which became White, Sawyer & Chambers. With the issue of July 24, 1811, White withdrew from the firm, which became Sawyer & Chambers. With the issue of Apr. 8, 1812, the title was shortened to "Muskingum Messenger." With the issue of Mar. 30, 1814, David Chambers became sole publisher, and with Nov. 2, 1814, the title was slightly altered to "The Muskingum Messenger." With the issue of May 16, 1816, Josiah Heard was admitted to partnership, the firm becoming Chambers and Heard. With the issue of Nov. 7, 1816, Josiah Heard became sole publisher. Early in 1819 Ezekiel T. Cox became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Zanesville Pub. Lib. has May 12, 1810. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has July 17, 1811; July 6, 1814. Marietta College has Sept. 13, 1815; Feb. 21, 1816-Dec. 31, 1817; Feb. 11-25, Mar. 25-Apr. 22, 1818. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Jan. 12, 1814. H. W. Phelps, Columbus, has June 1, 1814. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 16, 1813. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 17, 1817; Feb. 3, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 26.

Missing: Jan. 13-Feb. 10, 24, Mar. 3-24,
Apr. 28, July 21-Aug. 18, Sept. 15, 22,
29, Oct. 20.

1811. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.

Missing: Jan. 16, Feb. 6, 13, 27, Mar. 2, 9,
23, 30, Apr. 27, June 5, 12, July 10, Aug.
14, 21.

1812. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Extra: Apr. 4.
Missing: Jan. 22, Feb. 26, Mar. 18, Apr. 15,
22, 29, May 13, 20, 27, July 29, Aug. 12,
26, Sept. 9, Oct. 7, 21, 28, Nov. 11, 25.
1813. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Extra: Apr. 7.
Missing: Jan. 6, Feb. 10, June 9, 16, 23,
July 7, 14, Sept. 22, Nov. 10, 17.
1814. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
[Extra: June 17]
Missing: Mar. 4, Apr. 13, 20, July 6, 27,
Aug. 3, 17, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 12, 19, Nov.
9, 23, Dec. 7.
1815. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Missing: Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 1, Apr. 26, May
3, 17, June 7, 28, July 12, 26, Aug. 2,
Sept. 13, 20, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, 22, Dec. 6.
1816. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Jan. 17, Feb. 21, Mar. 6, 13, Apr.
3, 10, June 6, 13, July 18, Aug. 8, 29,
Sept. 5-26, Oct. 10, Nov. 28.
1817. Jan. 2, 9, 16, 30.
Feb. 6, 13, 20.
Mar. 6, 20, 27.
Apr. 3, 10, 17.
Dec. 17.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 15, 1919,
AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER

The annual meeting was called to order in Antiquarian Hall, at 10.45 a. m., President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present the following members:

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, Benjamin Thomas Hill, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Frederick Jackson Turner, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Arthur Prentice Rugg, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, Rev. Shepherd Knapp, Homer Gage, Livingston Davis, Archer Butler Hulbert, Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Charles Francis Jenney, John Whittemore Farwell, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, William Lawrence Clements, Richard Ward Greene, George Anthony Gaskill, John Woodbury, Alfred Lawrence Aiken, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, Robert Kendall Shaw, Harold Marsh Sewall.

The call for the meeting having been read, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the records of the last meeting.

The President read the report of the Council, the financial report was read by the Treasurer, Dr. Woodward, and the Librarian's report was read by Mr. Brigham. It was voted, on motion of Mr. Edes, that these papers be accepted as the Report of the Council and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President appointed Messrs. Blakeslee, Aiken and Colton a committee to collect and count the ballots for new members. They reported the election, as resident members of the following:

Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, of New York, N. Y.

Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, of Raleigh, N. C.

The unanimous election of Waldo Lincoln as President was announced by the committee, Messrs. Edes, Gaskill and Edmonds, appointed by the chair. Messrs. Cunningham, Woodbury and Munson, as a committee to nominate the other officers, reported the following list:

President

Waldo Lincoln, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Vice-Presidents:

Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Councillors:

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Samuel Utley, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., of Milton, Mass.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., of New York,
N. Y.

George Parker Winship, Litt.D., of Dover, Mass.

William Howard Taft, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., of Worcester,
Mass.

Henry Herbert Edes, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Worthington Chauncey Ford, Litt.D., of Boston,
Mass.

Recording Secretary:

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D., of Worcester,
Mass.

Treasurer:

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., of Worcester,
Mass.

Committee of Publication

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Julius Herbert Tuttle, of Dedham, Mass.

John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.

Auditors:

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A. B., of Worcester, Mass.

Homer Gage, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

The above named officers were then unanimously elected by the Society by ballot. The oath was administered to the recording secretary by Judge Forbes.

The secretary then read on recommendation of the Council the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, which was adopted by the society, on motion of Judge Forbes. It was moved, and so voted, that the President appoint delegates to represent this Society in the new

organization. The delegates appointed were Messrs. Hiram Bingham for four years and Frederick J. Turner for two years.

There being no further business, the members listened to the following papers: "Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," by Frederick Jackson Turner, of Cambridge, Mass, and "The Conciliatory Proposition in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788," by George Henry Haynes, of Worcester. A paper by Barrett Wendell, entitled "A Gentlewoman of Boston, 1742-1805", was read by title. It was voted that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard called the attention of the society to the exhibition of the engraved work of Edwin D. French in the cases in the gallery and emphasized its importance as a contribution to the study of American engraving and bookplates.

Mr. Edes proposed and the Society voted to send the following resolution to Andrew McFarland Davis: "We, the members of the American Antiquarian Society, assembled at our annual meeting, send cordial and affectionate greeting to our honored senior Vice-President, Andrew McFarland Davis. We wish to record an expression of our regret at his absence and of our hope to welcome him at the April meeting in Boston. We miss the genial presence of Mr. Davis. We miss also his participation in our proceedings and his wise counsel in our various discussions and undertakings to which he has always been a generous contributor."

The President invited the members to lunch at his house, 49 Elm Street, at the close of the exercises. There being no further business, the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

During the past six months two deaths have occurred among the active members, both very recently. William Roscoe Livermore of Boston, a member since October, 1897, died at New York, September 28, after a brief illness. On Saturday last, October 11, Henry Ernest Woods of Boston died very suddenly at Greenfield. He was elected to the Society in October, 1907.

Brief memoirs of these gentlemen will be prepared for publication in the Proceedings. So far as known to the Council there have been no deaths among the foreign members. It may be well to repeat the suggestion made two years ago, that members notify the secretary or librarian of the decease of any foreign member that may come to their knowledge.

The Society has recently received from the estate of the late Samuel Abbot Green a legacy of five thousand dollars with which the Samuel Abbot Green Fund has been established, the income of which, under the terms of Doctor Green's will, is to be expended for "the purchase of works relating to American history, including all publications in any way connected with the town of Groton," Massachusetts. Doctor Green at the time of his death was the senior member of the Society, having been elected in October, 1865, and for forty-four years was a member of the Council, the last fourteen as Vice-President. It is peculiarly gratifying therefore, to have his name associated with the large benefactors of the Society.

A petty source of annoyance, which has existed for many years, has been removed during the past

summer, by the action of the local society in changing its name from "The Worcester Society of Antiquity" to "The Worcester Historical Society." The similarity of the former name to that of this Society led to constant misunderstanding in the mind of the public as to which was which, and to frequent misdirection of letters. This Society has always wished to encourage and assist the local society and, in the past, has sent much material to it for its cabinet and library, but many individuals have refrained from joining it because of its unfortunate name. The Council now hopes that every member of this Society from Worcester County will join the Worcester Historical Society and give it every aid in his power.

It should be one of the most important objects of this Society to encourage local historical societies all over the United States. The more there are of them and the more active they are in collecting and preserving the records, maps, manuscripts, and newspapers of their respective localities the better. It is manifestly impossible for any national library to cover the whole country. The Library of Congress, which has the government itself behind it, is swamped with the vast mass of material which it attempts to preserve. There are seventeen thousand newspapers published in this country alone, and many hundreds, if not thousands, more in Canada and Spanish America. This library preserves about thirty of these thousands. If every local historical society would make a point of preserving and binding a file of the newspapers published in its neighborhood, it would advance the cause of local history very much, and bring great relief to the national libraries. But it is not necessary to have a local society to accomplish this, since the local library can do this work as well, and many in Massachusetts, where every town has a library, are already doing it. Let it be the business of every member of this Society to see that his own local society or library adopts this plan, if it has not already done so.

By the sale of the larger part of the duplicate newspapers, as was mentioned in the last annual report, the Purchasing Fund has been restored to its original sum and considerably increased. This has made possible the purchase of several important collections which otherwise could not have been secured. The most notable of these is the Marshall collection of book-plates, the acquisition of which has placed the Society's collection well at the front of all others. The financing of this purchase has been done partly with the Purchasing Fund and partly with the aid of our ever generous recording secretary. It will probably be a year before the sale of duplicates from this collection will enable the Society to repay the secretary and return something to the fund. Through the good will of Mrs. E. D. French, the Society's collection of the book-plates designed by her husband has been made practically perfect, and an exhibition of his work has been arranged in the upper hall, which will undoubtedly interest the members and will be continued for some weeks for the benefit of the public. It should attract the attention of all who are interested in this branch of art.

Partly owing to the war, partly to the death of the most active member of the committee of publication, and partly to a depleted staff and consequent increase of work for those remaining, the published Proceedings are six months in arrears, and the printed records of the last annual meeting have but just now reached the members. One result of such delay is that any appeal of the Council is received, by those members who are not present at the meeting when it is made, so late as to lose much of its force. An effort will be made during the coming year to return to the former custom of having the printed Proceedings of each meeting distributed before the holding of the next meeting. Even this delays too long the presentation of recommendations of the Council. It is, therefore, proposed to print and distribute the report of the Council, as a

separate publication, as soon as possible after each meeting. Thus the members may be more promptly advised of the Society's doings. A year ago reference was made to an offer which would enable the Society to acquire a valuable collection of engraved portraits of distinguished Americans, and the hope was expressed that some member, not too far removed from Worcester, would volunteer to care for the arrangement and increase of such a collection, the staff being too small and too much occupied with other work to take over such a task. Owing to the delay in printing the Proceedings this suggestion has reached those members, not present when the report was read, within the last week, and naturally no response has been received. This is a concrete example of the advantage to be gained by a separate publication of the Council's report. Fortunately the offer of the portraits is still open and the suggestion is now renewed.

One of the specialities in which this library holds first rank is that of American school books, or educational textbooks as they are frequently designated. This collection has recently been completely rearranged and classified, and by a careful estimate contains ten thousand eight hundred and seventy volumes, probably nine-tenths of them being published before the Civil War. No other collection of which any record has been found approaches this in point of numbers and importance. A Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education on "Special Collections in Libraries in the United States," issued in 1912, claims for that Bureau ten thousand textbooks, but a large proportion of these are foreign, while the collection in the Library of Congress consists mainly of textbooks published since 1870 and acquired through the operation of the copyright law. The next largest collection noted in the Bulletin is that in the Wadsworth Athenæum, Hartford, Conn., which numbered forty-five hundred volumes, and many of these are foreign. A better idea, perhaps, can be

gained of the importance of this accumulation of early school books, for a study of the history of education of the United States, by stating that, by actual count, there are on the shelves eight hundred and twenty arithmetics, six hundred and ten geographies and atlases, six hundred and thirty English grammars, nine hundred and forty readers, and three hundred and ninety spellers,* yet these subjects, which include the classic "three R's," make up only about a third of the whole number.

On August 22, 1919, the presidents and secretaries of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association invited this Society, with twelve other representative American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies, to send delegates to a conference to be held in Boston on September 19. The purpose of the conference was to consider what action should be taken by American societies to enable them to take part effectively in the new international Union Académique, which was organized in Paris in May, to further international undertakings in bibliography, archæology and history. The suggestion was made in the invitation that each society be represented by its president, its secretary and one other member, and accordingly the Council appointed the president, the recording secretary and the librarian to attend the conference. Doctor Nichols was unable to accept, but President Lincoln and Librarian Brigham were present at the conference, which was held in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was attended by twenty delegates representing the following ten societies:—The American Philosophical Society, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, The American Antiquarian Society, The American Oriental Society, The American Philological Association, The Archæological Institute of America, The Modern Language

*This includes school atlases only and not the larger and more important atlases in the map room. Neither are the New England Primers, of which the society owns ninety-two editions, counted among the nine hundred and forty readers.

Association of America, The American Historical Association, The American Economic Association, and The American Philosophical Association. Three other societies had been invited but were not represented, viz.:—The American Political Science Association, The American Sociological Society, and The American Society of International Law. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer was chosen permanent chairman and Mr. Waldo G. Leland permanent secretary, and the origin and purposes of the Union Académique were explained to the conference by Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard University. After discussion the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies should participate as a group in the Union Académique.

The conference then appointed Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University and Mr. William M. Buckler of Baltimore, as American delegates to the October session of the Union Académique, with power to fill vacancies, and adopted the following votes of instruction:—

VOTED, That all projects of research or publication which societies desire to have presented to the Union Académique at its October session in Paris shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference not later than September 28 for forwarding to the American delegates.

VOTED, That until the action of this conference shall have been ratified by the bodies represented and an organization of the societies for national representation in the Union Académique shall have been perfected, the delegates are instructed that they have no authority to commit the American societies to any particular project but should confine themselves to a cordial endorsement of the general plan by those present at this Conference, and that any projects submitted to the delegates should be regarded as the suggestions of individual scholars.

VOTED, That it is the sense of those present at this Conference that some form of bibliography of humanistic studies should be approved as an international undertaking.

VOTED, That this Conference desires to express its deep interest in the subject of explorations and researches in western Asia and hopes that a scheme of co-operation may be considered by the Union Académique.

The secretary of the conference presented a draft of a convention for establishing an American Council of Learned Societies accompanied by a form of constitution for such a council, which after some amendment was adopted. This convention and constitution will be presented to the Society by the recording secretary later in the meeting, with the recommendation of the Council that it be accepted and ratified.

By the liberality of four of our members a scholarship bearing the name of this Society has been established for two years at Clark University, for the encouragement of the study of American history.* A closer connection is thus formed between the Society and the University which should redound to the benefit of both, but the benefit accruing to the Society will come indirectly from the advertising by the University of the educational advantages possessed by it through the use of this library. It is true that the University has always had the free use of the library, but it is now not only at liberty to advertise that fact, but it has become its duty to extol the facilities which the library offers to students and writers of American history. The more generally this becomes known among the friends of education, the greater the chance that a "good angel" will appear who will relieve the Society of its financial distress. Should that "good angel" prove to be one of the Society's own members the greater the credit to the Society, but should it be a non-member the greater the credit to the "angel." Though attention has frequently been called to it in these reports, many members may not yet appreciate the extent to which the Society's collections are used by advanced students, in their preparation of theses for higher degrees. This alone justifies the work of the Society

*The scholarship has been awarded to Mr. F. Lee Bennis, a graduate of Syracuse University in 1914 and, from that time until February, 1918, an instructor in history and a graduate student in history and economics at Syracuse. For the next six months he was a teacher in the Bloomfield, N. J., High School and for the past year head of the historical department in the Danbury, Conn., High School. He is thirty years old.

in continuing to collect American historical material, but it is sometimes questionable if the library is not better known to students not connected with the Society than to the members themselves. One object sought by this report is to excite such an interest among the members, that everyone will feel it his duty not only to contribute what he can to the Society's funds, but to represent the merits and needs of the library to all liberal minded friends of education whom he may know, so that not one but many "angels" may spread their beneficent wings over this institution.

At the last annual meeting, held while the world war was at its height, some fear was expressed lest the scarcity of coal might seriously interfere with the usefulness of the library, and lest the Society might even be deprived of the services of its librarian. Fortunately in less than a month the armistice was signed and anxiety on those two points was allayed, but the high cost of living, which still continues, has been and is a serious handicap for which the only remedy seems to be an increase of endowment. The need for this has been mentioned so frequently that it may be superfluous to mention it now, but the members should bear it in mind when approached by solicitors for other educational institutions, whose appeals are receiving a wide, free advertising which a small institution like this cannot command. Compared with the vast sums demanded by others the wants of this Society can be met by a sum which is modesty itself, yet with the small constituency on which it can call, it looms so large as to seem almost unobtainable. One hundred thousand dollars added to the interest-bearing endowment would furnish the much needed addition to the staff, and provide an equally needed sum for binding and book purchases.

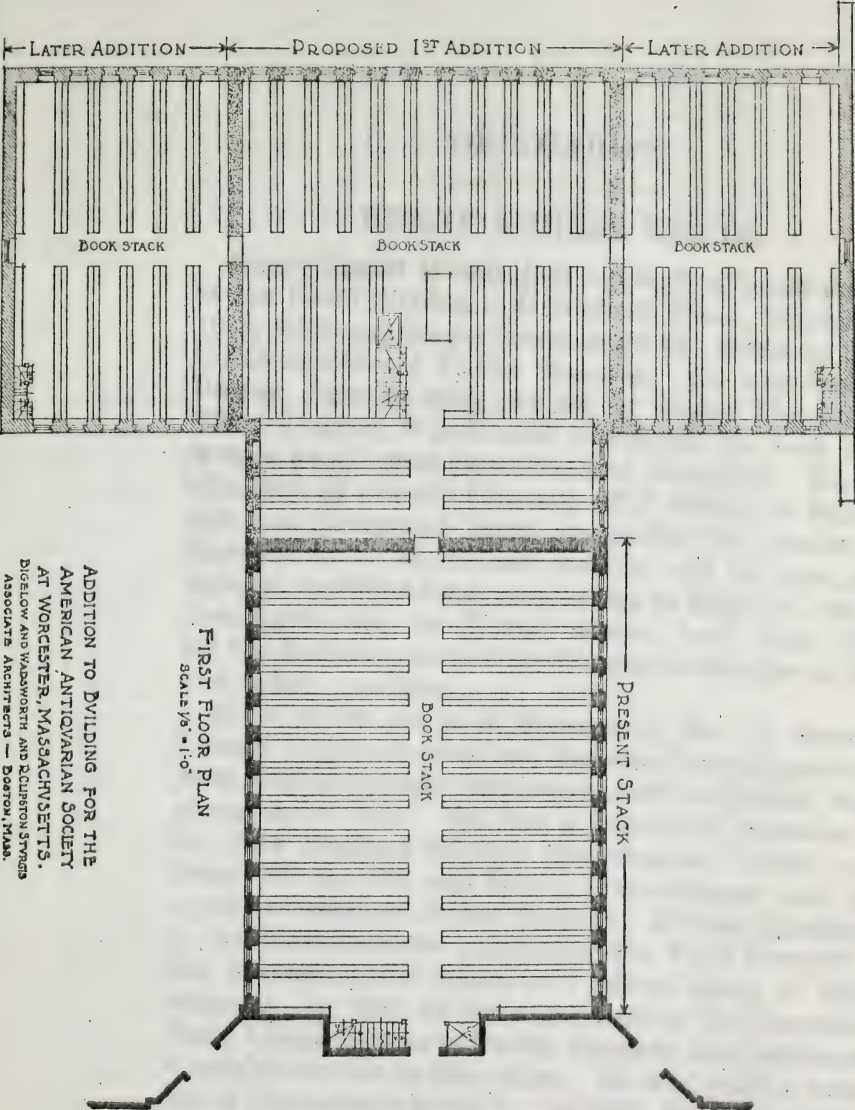
But the most imperative need is for a similar sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the enlargement of the stack to double its present size, for which plans were submitted by the architects nearly three years

ago. These plans are now before you and will be printed in reduced facsimile in the Proceedings for the information of those not present today. Estimates of the cost were made at the time and it was the intention of the Council to make an effort to raise a sufficient sum to build the extension, but the war interfered and the matter has rested until now. It can rest no longer for the time has come when the storage capacity of the building must be increased or a check must be put on collecting. Already several hundred volumes of newspapers are stored in the basement and are inaccessible for consultation, except with an expenditure of much time and labor which the present force is too small to supply, and even this method of storage must soon cease, as little room remains unoccupied and that is required for new acquisitions now awaiting classification and arrangement which cannot be hastened for lack of means. The fact is that the Society must have financial help or its usefulness will be seriously impaired, and the sooner the members realize that fact the better. They must themselves feel, and they must impress upon that portion of the general public on whose liberality all educational establishments must depend for support, that the great assistance given by this library to advanced students of American history, who come hither from graduate schools as far west as the Mississippi, and even from more remote universities, for research work which they cannot pursue as well elsewhere, must not be curtailed. They should realize that writers in almost every branch of this subject must prosecute their studies here, if they would exhaust the sources of information, for these walls contain larger and more complete collections of printed matter on many topics relating to American history, than any other library in the United States; and in certainly a dozen important lines more than any other library in New England. This is not said in any spirit of boastfulness but simply in an attempt

to impress on the minds of the members, that this is an educational institution which is entirely worthy of their financial assistance, and that its needs, though comparatively small, are quite as imperative as those of institutions whose appeals are now being so vigorously advertised.

WALDO LINCOLN,

For the Council.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

ADDITION TO BUILDING FOR THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
AT WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.
DIGELOW AND WADSWORTH AND ELLIOTT STRONG
ASSOCIATE ARCHITECTS — BOSTON, MASS.

OBITUARIES.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS

Henry Ernest Woods died suddenly of heart trouble at the Hotel Weldon in Greenfield, Mass., October 11, 1919, while on the performance of his duties as State Commissioner of Public Records. He was born in Boston, June 5, 1857, the son of Henry Thayer and Ellen (Thayer) Woods and descended on both sides from a long line of New England ancestors. He was educated at the old Chauncy Hall School in Boston, but was prevented from continuing his studies at Harvard by ill health and trouble with his eyes, and instead, travelled for a year or two in England, on the Continent, and in North Africa, and from then till the last ten years of his life was a traveller in this, and other countries.

After a few years in Mercantile life, he devoted himself to genealogical and historical investigation of New England people and places, and to editorial work along these lines. He was a prominent member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and from 1901 to 1907 was Editor of the *Register* and the other publications of that Society. He was prominent in the movement for publishing the Vital Records of the Massachusetts towns and edited many of these volumes. In 1907, he was appointed by the Governor, State Commissioner of Public Records, and performed a notable service in this office. He was made a member of this Society in 1907. In 1903, Bowdoin College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He was clever with his pencil, being at one time a contributor to *Life*, and was well posted in the

science of heraldry. His chief literary work was editorial, though he published an excellent genealogy of the Woods Family and many shorter genealogical sketches, and was ever ready to put his time and talents at the disposal of friends in genealogical, historical or heraldic investigations. He never married, but made his home in Boston with an invalid mother until her death. Later he lived on Newbury Street, making his home at the near-by St. Botolph Club.

H. W. C.

WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE

William Roscoe Livermore, son of George and Elizabeth (Cunningham) Livermore, was born in Cambridge, January 11, 1843, and died at the Army Hospital in New York City from heart failure, September 28, 1919. He was fitted for college at the Cambridge High School and entered Harvard College in 1860, but left at the end of his freshman year to attend the Military Academy at West Point, from which he was graduated in 1865, as second lieutenant of engineers. He rose by successive promotions to become colonel, which appointment he received in 1904, and was retired from service on June 11, 1907, after forty-two years of varied activities in connection with army engineering work. May 10, 1917, he returned to active duty and was assigned to special duty with the Chief of United States Engineers. After retirement in 1907, he lived in Boston, but removed to Washington after the declaration of war with Germany. He was author, in 1882, of "The American Kriegspiel," a game for practising the art of war on a typographical map, and, in 1884, of "Manoeuvres for Infantry", which reached a second edition. After his retirement he devoted his time to writing on military and historical subjects, publishing the "Story of the Civil War—Vicksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg", and

contributing papers to the several societies of which he was a member. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Massachusetts Military Historical Society, and the American Historical Association, and was elected to this Society in October, 1897, contributing a paper on "America's Place in History" to the Proceedings for April, 1908. In 1883, he married Augusta Keen of Philadelphia, who survives him.

W. L.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1919, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1919, the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building	\$189,905.71
Public Funds	102,147.50
Railroad bonds	101,515.50
Miscellaneous bonds	62,867.00
Railroad shares	22,017.00
Bank shares	5,345.00
Miscellaneous shares	8,234.50
Mortgages	15,100.00
Bank deposit	2,000.00
Cash on deposit	7,076.10

\$516,208.31

Which sum includes unexpended income
amounting to

562.70

\$515,645.61

Less Library Building

189,905.71

Capital bearing interest

\$325,739.90

Bonds of the City of Boston to the amount of \$15,000 and of the City of Waterbury to the amount of \$10,000 became due and were paid during the year, and in their place the Treasurer, with the consent of the Finance Committee, purchased \$5,000 Consumers Power Company 5% bonds; \$5,000, Detroit Edison Company 5% bonds; \$5,000, Southern Power Company 5% bonds; \$1,000, Southern California Edison Company 5% bond, and \$11,000 United States Government 4th 4¼% bonds.

Principal account has been increased by receipt of \$57.23 from the James Lyman Whitney Estate; \$5,000 from the Samuel A. Green Estate; \$150 by Life Memberships; \$237.25 by income added to principal; \$215 by gifts; \$7,502 by sale of duplicates; \$625 by profit on City of Boston bonds and \$400 by profit on City of Waterbury bonds.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1918 (less unexpended income for 1918)	\$508,451.56
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1918	
Alfred L. Aiken Life Membership	\$50.00
John Woodbury " "	50.00
John H. Edmonds " "	50.00
Income added to principal:	
James L. Whitney Fund.....	\$20.25
Purchasing Fund.....	217.00
	237.25
G. H. Norcross: for Special Gifts Fund.....	215.00
Samuel A. Green Estate.....	5,000.00
James Lyman Whitney Estate.....	57.23
Profit: City of Boston bonds.....	625.00
Profit: City of Waterbury bonds.....	400.00
Sale of duplicates.....	7,502.00
	14,186.48
	\$522,638.04
Expended from Purchasing Fund.....	\$6,777.43
Expended from Special Gifts Fund.....	215.00
	6,992.43
	\$515,645.61

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended Income 1918.....	\$5.90
Income from Investments.....	14,264.99
Assessments.....	295.00
Sale of Publications.....	233.95
	14,799.84
	\$530,445.45

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	\$237.25
Incidental Expense.....	395.49
Salaries.....	7,165.66
Light, Heat, Water, and Telephone.....	935.26
Office Expense.....	628.52
Supplies.....	398.42
Books.....	2,179.21
Publishing.....	1,208.15
Binding.....	600.00

Care of Grounds.....	111.23	
Extra Service.....	377.95	
		\$14,237.14
ASSETS		\$516,208.33
Real Estate.....	\$189,905.71	
Mortgages.....	15,100.00	
Bonds.....	266,530.00	
Stocks.....	35,596.50	
Bank Deposit.....	2,000.00	
Cash on deposit.....	7,076.10	
		\$516,208.31
Unexpended Balance October 1, 1919.....		\$562.70
Principal October 1, 1919.....		\$515,645.61

OCT. 1, 1919

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1918	Income 1918	Expended 1918	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00		\$45.00	\$45.00	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00		337.50	337.50	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00		22.50	22.50	
4-Collection and Research	17,000.00		765.00	765.00	
5-I. and E. L. Davis....	23,000.00		1,035.00	928.00	\$107.00
6-John and Eliza Davis..	4,900.00		220.50	220.50	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00	\$1.09	216.00	217.09	
8-G. E. Ellis.....	17,500.00		787.50	787.50	
9-Librarian's and General.	35,000.00		1,575.00	1,575.00	
10-Haven.....	1,500.00	3.02	67.50	70.52	
12-Life Membership.....	3,900.00		175.50	175.50	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00		315.00	315.00	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91		1,420.00	1,420.00	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39		4,780.54	4,680.54	100.00
18-Tenney.....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00	0.57	45.00	45.57	
22-Special Gifts.....	497.82		22.50	22.50	
23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00		90.00	90.00	
24-Purchasing.....	1,161.55		217.00	217.00	
25-Chas. F. Washburn....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
26-Centennial.....	34,506.58		1,602.70	1,247.00	355.70
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00	1.22	135.00	136.22	
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00		215.00	215.00	
29-Jas. Lyman Whitney...	489.68		20.25	20.25	
30-Samuel A. Green.....	5,000.00				

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
Baltimore, Md.....	4	May, 1955	\$15,000	\$15,000.00
Cuyahoga County, Ohio....	5	Oct., 1922	3,000	3,151.00
Duluth, Minn.....	4	April, 1936	2,000	1,940.00
Jersey City, N. J.....	4	April, 1928	5,000	4,931.00
Memphis, Tenn.....	4	May, 1933	5,000	4,887.00
Middletown, Conn.....	3½	May, 1925	5,000	4,700.00
New York, N. Y.....	4½	May, 1957	20,000	20,000.00
Omaha, Neb.....	4½	Mar. 1928	15,000	15,000.00
San Francisco, Cal.....	4½	July, 1948	5,000	4,914.00
Woonsocket, R. I.....	4	June, 1929	12,000	11,179.00
United Kingdom of Great				
Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Feb., 1937	2,000	1,977.50
United Kingdom of Great				
Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Nov., 1921	1,000	985.00
United States of America...	4¼	May, 1942	3,000	3,000.00
United States of America...	4½	Oct., 1938	11,000	10,483.00
				\$102,147.50

RAILROADS:

Atchison, Topeka & Sante				
Fe.....	4	May, 1995	2,000	\$1,540.00
Atchison, Topeka & Sante				
Fe.....	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Baltimore & Ohio.....	3½	July, 1925	5,000	4,637.00
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	April, 1937	8,000	7,960.00
Boston & Maine.....	3½	Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00
Chicago, Burlington &				
Quincy.....	4	July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois..	5	Nov., 1937	4,000	4,000.00
Chicago, Milwaukee & St.				
Paul.....	4½	June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Chicago, Indiana &				
Southern.....	4	Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00
Chicago & Northwestern...	4	Aug., 1926	1,000	945.00
Fitchburg.....	3½	Oct., 1921	10,000	9,300.00
Illinois Central.....	3½	July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central.....	5	Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Lake Shore & Michigan				
Southern.....	4	May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haver-				
hill.....	5	June, 1923	7,000	6,570.00

Marlboro & Westboro.....	5	July, 1921	1,000	1,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford....	4	May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford....	3½	Jan., 1956	50	50.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford....	6	Jan., 1948	2,200	2,189.00
Old Colony.....	4	Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Penobscot Shore Line.....	4	Aug., 1920	5,000	4,943.00
Pere Marquette.....	4	July, 1956	5,000	4,500.00
Pere Marquette.....	5	July, 1956	500	500.00
Southern Indiana.....	4	Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Union Pacific.....	4	July, 1927	500	450.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern.....	5	June, 1942	2,000	2,000.00
Worcester & Webster.....	5	Dec., 1919	2,000	2,000.00

 \$101,515.50

MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	4	July, 1929	11,000	11,000.00
Bethlehem Steel Co.....	5	Jan., 1926	2,000	2,005.00
Business Real Estate Trust.	4	June, 1921	2,000	1,915.00
Congress Hotel Co.....	6	Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00
Consumers Power Co.....	5	Jan., 1936	5,000	4,475.00
Detroit Edison Co.....	5	Jan., 1933	5,000	4,925.00
Detroit Edison Co.....	5	July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Ellicott Square Co.....	6	Mar., 1935	5,000	5,000.00
Michigan State Tel. Co.....	5	Feb., 1924	3,000	2,996.00
Norton Co.....	5	Feb., 1927	3,000	3,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.....	5	Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
So. Cal. Edison Co.....	5	Nov., 1939	1,000	920.00
Southern Power Co.....	5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00
Terre Haute Trac. Lt. & Power Co.....	5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00
Western Electric Co.....	5	Dec., 1922	5,000	5,056.00

 \$62,867.00

Stocks

 \$266,530.00

Shares	PAR VALUE	BOOK VALUE
24 American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,400	\$2,353.50
11 Atchinson, Topeka & Sante Fe R. R. (Pref.)	1,100	687.00
3 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Pref.).....	300	210.00
6 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Com.).....	600	420.00
6 Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00
50 Fitchburg R. R. Co.....	5,000	5,000.00
35 Mass. Gas Light Cos. (Pref.).....	3,500	2,900.00
68 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450.00
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000.00
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....	1,100	981.00
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00

25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250.00	
14 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,400	2,000.00	
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,945.00	
			\$35,596.50

MORTGAGE LOANS

J. Burwick.....	\$2,100.00
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00
B. F. Sawyer.....	3,500.00
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00
	\$15,100.00

BANK DEPOSITS

Deposit in Worcester Bank & Trust Co., Interest Department.....	\$2,000.00
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REAL ESTATE

Library Building with land.....	\$189,905.71
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1919, have been examined by Elmer A. MacGowan, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,

HOMER GAGE,

Auditors.

October 1, 1919.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1919.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1919, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) ELMER A. MACGOWAN,

Accountant.

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy).....	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy).....	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, R. I. (legacy).....	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	200
	Edward Everett, Boston.....	100
	George Folsom, Worcester.....	100
	John Green, Worcester.....	100
	James Lenox, New York, N. Y.....	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester.....	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge.....	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester.....	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester.....	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston.....	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy).....	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence.....	100
	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.....	500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg.....	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	100
1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury.....	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy).....	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly (legacy).....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy).....	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy).....	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester.....	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000

1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy).....	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D. C.....	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Calif.....	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy).....	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy).....	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston.....	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester.....	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester.....	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester.....	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.....	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester.....	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence.....	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester.....	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester.....	1,000
	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy).....	490
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
	William Lawrence, Boston.....	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	100
	Samuel A. Green, Boston.....	150
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland, Me.....	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston.....	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.....	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.....	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston.....	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville.....	1,000

1913	Daniel Merriman, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy).....	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy).....	5,000
1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy).....	5,000

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The number and value of the acquisitions of this Library each year depend chiefly upon the amount of income which the finance committee feels can be devoted to book purchase. There are certain funds the income of which can be used only for books and these funds in the past few years have yielded about \$1250 a year. In 1913-14, however, the general income for books, outside of the special funds, was \$1650, while in 1918-19, it had dwindled to \$420. The high cost of living, which to this library means cost of fuel, supplies, equipment, printing, and to a very slight degree, of salaries, has to be taken out of the book fund, the only one capable of standing the strain. We must continue to print the Proceedings, we must do the necessary binding, and we must keep our collections available for use, but we can curtail the purchase of books. We are continually "robbing Peter to pay Paul," and there are many Pauls, but unfortunately only one Peter.

As a result of this diminished book income, we have had recourse during the past three or four years to other methods in order to acquire the books needed to round out our collections and to fulfil our duty to researchers who come here from far and near in the quest of material which they do not find in other libraries. As books have been offered to us which we cannot afford to buy, we have turned to certain generous members who have made these purchases possible. During the past year our chief source of book income has been the money derived from the sale of the duplicate newspapers last fall, and this more than any other reason explains how the acces-

sions have measured in number and value with the totals of the past few years. Expressed in statistical form, the summary is as follows:

Bound volumes	3815
Pamphlets	5837
Maps, broadsides, prints, etc.	959
Unbound newspapers	5275

The pamphlet and periodical literature of the day forms an important part of the accessions. Certain members, such as Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Andrew McF. Davis, and Charles G. Washburn, send to the library regularly practically all of the current pamphlet reports, speeches, and other ephemeral material which they accumulate, and many other members send us items of historical value which are worthy of preservation. The early printed titles, however, do not come to the average person. These can be picked up only at auction, or from the bookseller's catalogue, or from an occasional individual who has inherited them from some ancestor, and the recent enhancement in the values of rare books has made scarce titles increasingly difficult to procure.

Some valuable items of Americana have been acquired during the year, but none so important as the file of the "Royal American Magazine," presented to the Society by Charles H. Taylor, Jr. This magazine was published at Boston from January, 1774, to March 1775, in fifteen monthly numbers, each number containing one or more engraved plates and an installment of Governor Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay." Since most of the plates were engraved by Paul Revere, the issues have been prized by collectors, who have frequently extracted the plates, with the result that no complete set has ever appeared for sale. The Brinley copy, which went to Yale, lacked two plates and fourteen pages. The Deane copy, which sold in 1898 for \$160, lacked one number and six plates. The Manson copy, which was the Deane copy improved, sold in 1904 for \$355 lacking five plates. The

Taylor copy is complete both in text and plates, and in addition is untrimmed and has most of the original blue covers. Since no complete set has ever been described and since there has been doubt regarding the existence of some of the plates, a list of the engravings in each number is here appended:

- January, 1774. "A View of the Town of Boston" (Revere).
"The Thunder Storm" (Revere).
- February, 1774. "Sir Wilbraham Wentworth" (Revere).
"The Night Scene" (Callender).
- March, 1774. "The Hon^{ble}. John Hancock, Esq^r." (Revere).
"The Fortune Hunter" (Callender).
- April, 1774. "M^r. Samuel Adams" (Revere).
"The Hill Tops, a New Hunting Song" (Callender).
- May, 1774. "An Indian Gazette" (unsigned).
- June, 1774. "The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the
Bitter Draught" (Revere).
"The Hooded Serpent" (unsigned).
- July, 1774. "Spanish Treatment at Carthagená" (Revere).
- August, 1774. "The Method of Refining Salt-Petre" (unsigned).
- September, 1774. [Engraving of a water-spout] (unsigned).
- October, 1774. "The Mitred Minuet" (Revere).
- November, 1774. "The Gerbua or Yerboa" (Revere).
"Mademoiselle Clarion" (Revers).
- December, 1774. "A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and
Colonel Bouquet, in the Year 1764" (Revere).
[Engraving of bees and honey-combs] (unsigned).
- January, 1775. "A Certain Cabinet Junto" (Revere).
- February, 1775. "History of Laurretta" (Revere).
- March, 1775. "America in Distress" (Revere).

The charges for most of these plates are entered in Paul Revere's Manuscript Day-Books, showing the cost to be about £3 each. The entries also show that he engraved the lead cut which was used on the titlepages in 1774 and after that on the front covers of the 1775 issues, and that he made the unsigned engravings in the issues of June, August, and December, 1774. We are much indebted to Mr. Taylor for providing us with so complete a set of this valuable magazine, especially since it was established by Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the Society.

A rare pamphlet purchased by the Society is entitled: "The Art of Making Common Salt, particularly adapted to the Use of the American Colonies," Boston, 1776, containing an engraved plate showing the method of extracting salt from sea-water. The subject matter of the pamphlet was first printed in "The Pennsylvania Magazine" for March, 1776, pp. 128-133, with a plate engraved by S. Aitken. It was then printed as a pamphlet of seven pages at Philadelphia, with the imprint of R. Aitken, 1776, and with the same plate by S. Aitken. The Continental Congress caused copies of this pamphlet to be sent to the different colonies, and the Massachusetts General Assembly voted to reprint 150 copies, which should be sent to the several seaport towns of the colony.

The Boston reprint closely follows the Philadelphia edition, but contains a plate by another engraver. In the effort to establish the name of the engraver, I caused a search to be made in the Massachusetts manuscript archives, but found no record of payment to either the printer or engraver. Although the engraving somewhat resembles Revere's work, it is probable that he did not engrave it, as he had only recently entered military service, and there is no record of his engaging in business during the early part of the year 1776. The search in the archives, however, did reveal the name of the author of the pamphlet. In the Massachusetts Archives, vol. 209, p. 47, is the following communication from Robert Treat Paine:

To the honorable the Council and House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay

The Congress at their last session Considering the importance to American Liberty that all necessarys of life & defence should be produced by the inhabitants of the united Colonies, among other things directed an enquiry to be made of the most practicable method of making salt: as I have the honour to be of that Committee I applied some attention to it, and having mett with a learned treatise of Dr. Brownrigg on the subject, I extracted the practical part of it, & adding a few observations I caused it to be inserted in the Pennsylvania Magazine & a number of Copies to

be detached, & have sent them to all the Colonies as far as Georgia; and I now do myself the honour to inclose some of them to your Consideration to be disposed of as in your wisdom may seem best.

I can but think there are many parts of our Colony where these works may be profitably erected, in the southern parts more especially.

It must afford great happiness to every Lover of the American united Colonies to defeat the cruel designs of their Enemies in any respect, & it will gratify me to have attempted it, tho unfortunately it should not succeed.

Hoping success to this & every undertaking to promote the welfare of our Colony

I Subscribe my self

your Honours

most Obedient Servant

Philadl. April 15th 1776.

Rob Treat Paine

Robert Treat Paine, who a few weeks later was to sign the Declaration of Independence, was much interested in science and inventions, and was on several committees of the Continental Congress to establish home manufactures. Although a college graduate and a man of distinguished ability, he apparently made no other venture in authorship except to bring out this one pamphlet hitherto not recorded under his name. The Society previously owned the first two editions of the treatise, and now fortunately possesses the third.

The section devoted to Spanish-Americana has been enriched by ninety-five volumes relating to Cuba, received through exchange with the Harvard College Library. From a London dealer was purchased Marban's "*Arta de la Lengua Moxa*," printed at Lima in 1701, and presenting the language of the Moxos of Bolivia, an excellent addition to our large collection of the source-books of South American linguistics. Mr. Richard Ward Greene, of Worcester, has presented several volumes of Spanish American interest including a file of the "*Mercurio Peruano*," 1790—1795. From Mrs. F. Spencer Wigley, of St. Christopher's, British West Indies, has come as a gift the "*Laws of the Island of St. Christopher*," printed on the island itself in 1791. No copy of this

rare example of West Indian printing is located, according to Sabin's Dictionary, and it does not seem to be in any of the catalogues of the leading collections of American laws. At the same time was obtained by purchase the "Acts of Assembly, passed in the Island of St. Christopher," printed in London in 1739, with the two appendices printed in 1740. This volume, although not so rare, is interesting, partly because it contains a beautiful emblematic copper-plate engraving of George II made by G. Van der Gucht. It was Gerard Van der Gucht who engraved the large portrait of Rev. Samuel Willard, which is generally found pasted in copies of Willard's "Compleat Body of Divinity," printed at Boston in 1726 and famous as the first folio book, outside of laws, printed in the colonies. The original copper plate of the Willard portrait still exists in the custody of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the reverse having been used in the Revolution for the purpose of printing the State paper currency. There has always been a question as to whether the engraving was originally published in the book and many bibliographers have deemed the volume incomplete without the portrait. The point seems to be settled, however, by the recent discovery by Mr. John H. Edmonds, State Archivist, of an advertisement in the Boston News-Letter of January 12, 1727, as follows:

Just Arrived from London, the Effigies of the Rev. & Learned, Mr. Samuel Willard, late Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College in Cambridge, in New-England, curiously Engraven: To be Sold by Benja. Eliot, at his shop in King street, and Daniel Henchman at his Shop in Cornhill, Boston.

It is evident, therefore, that the portraits arrived from England shortly after the publication of the book, which accounts for the fact that they are generally pasted or laid in the copies, whenever found.

About three hundred genealogies of American families have been acquired during the year, partly

from book-dealers' catalogues and partly as gifts from the authors. The want of an adequate genealogical checklist, however, prevents a library from knowing what titles it lacks and from having a proper description of the books it desires to buy. Genealogies, outside of their value for family research, are useful in the study of American biography and history, and the effort should be made by this library to make its collection more nearly complete. Although we have a large and valuable collection, we are exceeded by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Long Island Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the Newberry Library, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and possibly one or two others. For a library which has gathered one of the largest existing collections of historical literature relating to America, we should be somewhat better represented in this field. The lack of a Genealogical Fund has often been alluded to in former Reports.

In the acquisition of newspaper files we have made great strides in the past year. The availability of a fairly sizable fund derived from the sale of duplicate newspapers last year has made it possible for us to purchase many files of considerable importance. Money expended in this way is well spent, for the library is much used for early newspapers. Strange to say, it is the only place in New England, or in fact anywhere in the East, excepting Washington, where a fair representation of the newspapers of the country may be found. They are studied for all conceivable varieties of questions. Not only specific facts and dates are sought for, but long, intricate researches into the social or economic or political or literary history of the country are frequently made. One writer has spent most of the summer here tracing the influence of the "Spectator" upon American thought. Another has gleaned the facts regarding General Washington's

southern tour in 1791 in a manner which could be as fully covered in no other way. Another has reconstructed much of the history of the American theatre by a careful examination of early files. Even the modern newspaper, often abused by historians, has been used in many fields of thought. The attitude of certain important journals toward prohibition, editorial opinion relating to the late President Roosevelt, the development of resentment toward Germany during the recent World War are but a few of the queries which brought into service newspapers from every section of the United States.

The preservation of newspapers is one of our most important tasks, for in this way we can be of the greatest use to students all over the country. We could well serve as the central depository in New England for all newspapers which each library does not feel are required by their own patrons. Few libraries are able or willing to undertake the task of collecting, binding, and housing such bulky volumes. Historical students ought to have one place in New England where they would be able to find a fair proportion of New England newspapers, as well as the representative journals of other sections of the country. A querist from Hartford or Providence or Boston or Portland studying newspaper literature can much better be served by having such material under one roof, than by visiting a dozen or more different towns. As long as we are willing to undertake this task, libraries can co-operate by sending us their duplicates and the papers which are not of local use. If such newspapers command a ready money value, we at least should be given the opportunity of purchase. Several libraries in New England have already recognized the value of this central collection and have given us the first opportunity to complete our files. Yale University, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Rhode Island Historical Society, Brown University, the Providence Public Library,

the Newport Historical Society, Harvard University, the Boston Athenæum, the Essex Institute, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Vermont Historical Society and many smaller local libraries have all co-operated in making our newspaper files more complete, and to them much of the value of this collection is due.

A list of the longer newspaper files acquired will show the scope of the year's accessions. Perhaps the most important files are the "New London Summary" 1762-1763, the "Norwich Packet" 1775-1783, the Chillicothe "Supporter" 1809-1817, the Lexington "Western Monitor," 1814-1817, the Albany "Argus," 1821-1841, and a number of Mexican newspapers published during the Mexican War, including the rare "American Star" of 1847-1848, issued by the American army of occupation. In this list is not included the Society's collection of camp and service newspapers of the recent war, numbering several thousand issues and containing almost complete files of the various editions of "Trench and Camp," published in over forty training camps in this country.

AMHERST, VILLAGE MESSENGER, 1800-1801.

AMHERST, FARMER'S CABINET, 1809.

CONCORD OBSERVER, 1819-1821.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE, 1795-1820.

PORTSMOUTH, ORACLE, 1799-1801, 1808-1810.

BOSTON, AMERICAN TRAVELLER, 1829-1830.

BOSTON, COMMONWEALTH, 1851.

BOSTON, DEMOCRAT, 1804-1805.

BOSTON GAZETTE, 1746.

TAUNTON SUN, 1830-1832.

NEW LONDON SUMMARY, 1762-1763.

NORWICH PACKET, 1775-1783, 1794-1796.

WINDHAM PHOENIX, 1795-1796.

ALBANY ARGUS, 1821-1824, 1828-1829, 1839-1841.

NEW YORK, CITIZEN, 1854.

NEW YORK, DAILY ADVERTISER, 1823-1825.

NEW YORK, EMANCIPATOR, 1842-1843.

NEW YORK, EVENING POST, 1821-1824.

NEW YORK, GAZETTE TIMES, 1846-1847.

NEW YORK, GLOBE, 1825.

NEW YORK, LEDGER, 1865-1869.
NEW YORK, UNION, 1846-1851.
NEW YORK, WEEKLY MUSEUM, 1794-1797.
ROCHESTER AMERICAN, 1842-1857.
UTICA, Y'DRECH, 1893-1917.
WESTCHESTER HERALD, 1852-1856.
MORRISTOWN, NATIONAL DEFENDER, 1864-1869.
PHILADELPHIA, CLAYPOOLE'S ADVERTISER, 1792-1793.
PHILADELPHIA, DUNLAP'S ADVERTISER, 1791-1795.
PHILADELPHIA, GENERAL ADVERTISER, 1795-1804.
PHILADELPHIA, JACKSON'S POLITICAL REGISTER, 1815-1817.
PHILADELPHIA, NORTH AMERICAN, 1861-1869.
PHILADELPHIA, POULSON'S ADVERTISER, 1803-1809, 1816.
PHILADELPHIA, PUBLIC LEDGER, 1838.
PHILADELPHIA, RELF'S GAZETTE, 1815-1817.
PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY COURIER, 1833-1838.
PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSAL GAZETTE, 1798-1800.
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND JOURNAL, 1789.
RICHMOND ENQUIRER, 1804-1806.
RICHMOND COMPILER, 1817-1818.
NORFOLK, COMMERCIAL REGISTER, 1802-1803.
CHILLICOTHE, SUPPORTER, 1809-1818.
LEXINGTON, WESTERN MONITOR, 1814-1817.
NASHVILLE GAZETTE, 1819-1821.
NATCHEZ, NEW SOUTH, 1872-1873.
MEXICO, AMERICAN STAR, 1847-1848.
MEXICO, ECO DEL COMERCIO, 1848.
MEXICO, MONITOR REPUBLICANO, 1847-1848.

The Society's collection of the reports and catalogues of American colleges has long been made an important feature, and within the past few years effort has been made to obtain nearly complete files for certain New England colleges. The burden of this effort so far as the collecting of the Yale Class Records is concerned has been lifted through the notable gift, from Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of his own collection. There is probably no college which has issued so large a body of biographical material relating to its graduates as Yale, and the Dexter collection numbers 219 volumes, many of them finely printed works of several hundred pages. There are twelve classes with biographical records previous to 1829, and with but four exceptions every

class from 1830 to 1919 is represented by one or more class books. It was through the kindness of Mr. Andrew Keogh, librarian of Yale, that the records of recent years were added to the Dexter collection and our indebtedness to him, as well as to the former member of our Council, is herewith recorded.

The desire, a few years ago, to strengthen our American engraving led to the formation of a bookplate collection. Gradually it increased until it became one of the three best collections in the country, and now, within the past year, one of these three collections, that formed by Frank Evans Marshall of Philadelphia, has been purchased *en bloc* and added to our own. Few collectors in the country were so successful as Mr. Marshall in obtaining early American plates, and the bookplates of the Presidents, signers of the Declaration of Independence, colonial Governors, and eighteenth century bibliophiles are here represented in great number. Most of the known plates engraved by Revere, Hurd, Dawkins, Doolittle and other early engravers are here and bear mute testimony of the artistic ability—or the lack of it—in the colonies. The great mass of labels and type plates, valuable chiefly in showing who were the book collectors of a century ago, swell the total into the thousands. Mr. Marshall was a keen student who gave a large part of his life to the formation of this great collection, and his notes and catalogues make a valuable addition, not only to our knowledge of bookplates, but also to the study of American biography.

The Marshall collection is now undergoing a process of arrangement and comparison with our own plates. It will be many weeks before we shall be able to know how many plates we shall obtain or to estimate the final size of our collection. It is certain, however, that the duplicate collection, made up from the sifting of at least four great collections, will rank in itself among the best in the country.

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Through the kindness of Mr. Grenville H. Norcross the Society has obtained a fine bookplate engraved by Sidney L. Smith. The design of this plate attempts to show that the Society's scope covers the two Americas. The leading feature is a reproduction of the map of the Western Continent from the silver Nancy Globe discovered in the library at Nancy and drawn about 1525. It follows the engraving in the "Compte-Rendu" of the Congrès des Américanistes for 1877, vol. 1, p. 359. Below are the early flags of the three colonizing nations, England, France and Spain. In lower left corner is the DeBry portrait of Columbus, taken from our own copy of Debry's *Great Voyages*, 1595, and in the right corner a portrait of Cortés from the woodcut in Paulus Jovius "Elogia" of 1575. The plate has a handsome border and is engraved in Sidney Smith's best style. The Society is much indebted to Mr. Norcross for the gift of so fine a plate.

With the exception of the rearrangement of the schoolbooks, due to the acquisition of about 2000 new titles, there has been no new project undertaken in the library during the year. There are many departments which need reclassification and cataloguing because of recent large accessions, but with our present income all we can do is to mark time, keep accessible the material which we have, and take care of what comes in as best we can. At present there is no special custodian of the newspapers and the work of inserting the numerous files acquired has fallen chiefly upon the librarian.

The President, in the Council Report, has spoken of the great need of a larger income for the Society. Everything in the library—books, binding, cataloguing, salaries, newspapers—all are not properly supported for want of funds. The need of a larger bookstack is imperative, and yet there seems to be no immediate prospect of meeting the situation. There are few organizations in the country which are as worthy of financial assistance as this Society. We

are performing a national historical task, and preserving material that is acquired by no other library. Every cent of income goes into the purchase of works relating to the history of America, to the publication of history and to making our collections of service. A legacy or a gift to this Society means the establishment of a fund of lasting and durable value for the study of the nation's history.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

Librarian

GREATER NEW ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY FREDERICK J. TURNER

Greater New England may be defined as the region in which people of New England birth and ancestry lived in such numbers as to make them the most considerable single stock therein.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the results of some of my own researches and to correlate some special studies of others which cast light upon the significance of the historical movements which accompanied the extension of the New England element in the first half of the nineteenth century especially into New York and parts of the North Central states.

This involves consideration: (1) of the revolutionary changes which, in the parent section, accompanied the spread of its people, and (2) of the social, economic, and political aspects of the regions thus colonized in the West. Only the first part of the subject will be discussed in the present paper.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the generation between 1830 and 1860 New England's life was revolutionized, partly by the play of the forces which accompanied the age of steam production, the factory system, and the railroads, and partly by the outflow of her population to other regions, and the inflow of new peoples. These factors of migration are closely related, partly as cause and partly as effects of the new economic conditions.

Let us first attempt an estimate of the volume of the New England emigrants. By the census of 1850 it appears that there were in New York 206,630 persons of New England birth. In the states of the North Central Division of that date (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and the Territory of Minnesota) there were 180,476 natives of New England. But it is capable of demonstration historically that central, western, and part of northern New York were settled by New Englanders chiefly between 1790 and 1820, and that from the counties most distinctively Yankee in their composition came New York's contribution to the North Central States. To be conservative, however, let us assume that only one-half of the New York element in the North Central States was of New England origin. In that case, we add 195,741 New Englanders, concealed as "natives of New York," to the figures for the New England people in the North Central States, and thus arrive at a total of over half a million New Englanders in New York and the North Central States combined. Except as stated, this ignores all persons of New England ancestry born in New York between 1790 and 1850. It also omits the considerable number of New England natives who had left the above states in the later forties and were reckoned in California, Oregon, and Utah. In 1850 there were in all over 13,000 such Far Western New England natives.

There were also over 30,000 natives of New England in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and about 21,000 in the South Atlantic and South Central States combined, or a total of 64,000 New England natives outside of New England and of the New York and North Central areas. Pennsylvania particularly had been subject to New England colonization from before the Revolution, and had in turn sent many colonists of this stock into New York and the North Central States. It will add to the margin of safety, however,

to leave to one side the Far Western, Middle State, and Southern Yankee element.

Thus far, with the exception noted in the case of New York, dealing with the New England people outside the parent division in 1850, we have found over a half million, counting one-half the New Yorkers in the North Central States as New Englanders by ancestry and omitting those in New York of New England ancestry. We may adopt a more indirect mode of arriving at a conclusion, and one more fairly indicative of the amount of persons of New England origin, rather than nativity.

Between 1790 and 1820 the migration from Southern New England, embracing Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, has been estimated by Mr. Percy Bidwell at 800,000 souls.¹ Where did this migrated element go? No doubt very much of it settled in Northern New England. But historical evidence makes it certain that there was a large migration to New York and the older North Central States, particularly in the Connecticut Reserve, and southern Michigan and Wisconsin and northern Illinois. In 1851 Horace Bushnell reached the conclusion that nearly one-fourth of the New York constitutional convention of 1821 were natives of Connecticut and that if those of Connecticut parentage were added, probably a majority of the convention was of Connecticut stock.² His study of Congress about 1843 convinced him that over one-fifth were of Connecticut birth and descent. Two-fifths of New York's delegation were of that stock. Of the ninety-six members of the Ohio legislature of 1822, whose

¹"Rural Economy in New England," in *Trans. Conn. Academy of Arts and Science*, XX, 241-399, especially 386. His method consists in applying the principles of W. Burdick, *Mass. Manual*, Boston, 1814, and Blodgett, *Economica*, 79. He adopts for Southern New England the rate of increase for the United States as a whole, and assumes that, but for migration, they should have had a like increase. This total increase for the period 1790-1820 was 145.6%. The Census of 1820 on this basis should have shown 1,681,673, instead of the 881,594 actually reported—a deficit of about 800,000.

²Bushnell, *Work and Play*, 219.

nativity is known, twenty-five were of New England birth. In the absence of census data prior to 1850 these figures may serve as straws to indicate the earlier tendency.³ In 1790 the population of Northern New England, (Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont,) was 323,850. In 1820 it was 778,477, an increase of only 454,627. If it had followed the rate of increase of the nation as a whole on the above basis, it should have shown an increase of over 471,500, and should thus have amounted to 795,385 instead of 778,477.

Whether this failure to reach the larger figure was due to migration from Northern New England, or (what is practically absurd in view of the well known fecundity of a pioneer population,) an abnormally low birth rate in Northern New England as compared with the United States as a whole, it is clear on the original assumption that 800,000 New Englanders had migrated to areas outside of the section between 1790 and 1820. For if the entire deficit of Southern New England, the 800,000 migrants, had gone to Northern New England, and if Northern New England had been unoccupied in 1790, they would have furnished somewhat more than the actual number found in Northern New England in 1820, leaving to be accounted for the natural increase of original Northern New England between 1790 and 1820, which by itself should have brought the total for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine to nearly 800,000.

If these figures are correct, therefore, and the 800,000 lost New Englanders had doubled in the next thirty years, by 1850 there should have been 1,600,000 New Englanders and their descendants living outside the parent section. As we have found an actual number of 387,000 natives of New England living in 1850 in New York and the North Central States

³Of course, the Yankee may have been exceptionally successful in politics; but there are reasons for doubting that this is a serious limitation to the estimate.

alone, and as the Yankees had been migrating in large numbers for over half a century, it seems not improbable that there were in New York and the North Central States combined by 1850 over a million and one-half people of the New England stock. The outflow continued to be important for the next decade. By 1860 there were about 276,000 natives of New England in the North Central States, and about 178,000 in New York, a total of 454,000 or nearly half a million native New Englanders, not reckoning the progeny of the immigrants for some two generations born in the states west of New England. If we should take account merely of one-half of the New York element, in the North Central States, as in the estimate for 1850, the 273,000 thus obtained would raise the element to over three-quarters of a million in 1860, regardless of the other progeny of New Englanders in the North Central States.

It is, therefore, I conclude, conservative to estimate the part of Greater New England which had left the old section to dwell in New York and the North Central States at not less than a million and a half by the middle years of the nineteenth century.

In 1850 the native population of New England was somewhat less than 2,500,000. Adding the 1,500,000 wanderers, we get as the total population of Greater New England not less than 4,000,000. About 37.5 per cent, or well over one-third of the total stock were living outside the parent section. The 300,000 foreign born, chiefly Irish in New England, did not equal in numbers the 387,000 natives of New England in New York and the North Central States in 1850; but they furnished a partial replacement of the original stock, and this in itself is a fact of no little significance. In 1850 the population of Boston showed 68,687 natives of Massachusetts and 35,287 natives of Ireland; 88,948 natives of the United States and 46,677 foreign born. As the Irish had

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been coming for over a dozen years in large numbers and their children were in part reckoned in the census as natives of Massachusetts, it is clear that a process had begun of no little significance in the history of the transformation of the center of Puritanism.⁴ In 1900 less than twenty per cent of Boston's population was native born of native parents, and in this category were most of the descendants of the Irish born in those earlier years in Massachusetts. Over a third of the total were native whites of foreign parents, and about the same proportion for foreign born. Three-fourths and more of Boston's population was of foreign parentage. The record of Providence, Worcester, and Fall River, to name only the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants was about as striking. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut each had more people of foreign birth and parentage than native whites. In 1916 the Mayor of Boston informed one of the present Harvard Corporation that the "Irish had letters and learning, culture and civilization, when the forebears of New England were the savage denizens of Hyperborean forests," that "the pestilent Irish" had "made Massachusetts a fit place to live in," that the "New England of the Puritan . . . was as dead as Julius Caesar" and that "this is the year 1916, and not 1620, 1720, or 1820."

If we retrace now the footsteps of the wanderers from New England by states, we find that in 1860 there were in New York and the North Central States about 41,000 natives of New Hampshire, 90,000 of Maine, 105,000 of Connecticut, 123,000 of Massachusetts, and 127,000 of Vermont. For every three natives of Vermont remaining in the state of their

⁴A census of Boston in 1845 showed that of a total population of 114,366, there were 73,290 born outside of the city, of whom 46,186 were natives of other parts of the Union, and 27,104 of alien birth. The 41,076 of Boston birth included 10,185 of foreign parentage. This shows that the foreign element outnumbered the natives of Boston, of native parentage. Shattuck, *Census of Mass.*, 1845, p. 37, cited in Priscilla H. Fowle, *Boston Daily Papers 1830-1850*, (MS. Radcliffe thesis).

nativity, more than two had left; for every two remaining natives of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, one had gone. The gain of population in the decade 1850-1860 was but three-tenths of one per cent in Vermont, seven-tenths in Maine, and two and one-half per cent in New Hampshire. In the next decade Maine and New Hampshire actually decreased.

It was Western and Northern New England that furnished the larger share of the expansion of Greater New England. The rural towns of the section were stagnant or declining, and New England was turning from the sea and from the country to the water powers and manufacturing communities. Her destiny became urban instead of rural. The agricultural intervals and valleys in the midst of the sterile hills of New England had been overcome in their historic economic life and prosperity by the competition and attractions of the cheap and fertile lands of the West,—new and vaster intervals for the moving population—and by the pull of the rising cities, such as Boston and New York, upon the more enterprising and ambitious of the farmers' boys. The canals and then the railroads made the competition keener and the way to the West easier. By 1825 the Erie Canal opened the road.⁵ Early in the thirties the cities on the western shore of Lake Michigan were reached by steamers; in 1842 railroad connection was established with Buffalo, and soon after with Dunkirk and with Ogdensburg; by the early fifties Chicago had railroad connection with the eastern cities; by the middle fifties the open prairies were crossed by rails to the Mississippi River.

We may now rapidly survey some of the results. First, what of the effect upon New England *morale*? In a volume published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in 1911 edited by Mr. George French and

⁵See Lois K. Mathews, "The Erie Canal and the Settlement of the West," in *Buffalo Historical Society Publ.*, XII.

entitled *New England*, the editor, after commenting on the pioneering activity of the section and its share in settling the West, says:

"The result was that there came over New England an era of halting effort, due to loss of primal vigor to the West and the newer sections . . . a drain of New England energy and initiative. . . . There has been a constant exhaustion of New England's vitality comparable only to the giving of her own life to her children by a mother. New England suffered, and suffered more acutely and fundamentally than ever will be estimated. The wholesale and continual transfusion of her best blood to the veins of the newer states could only mean the weakening of her own constitution and the limiting of her own development."

No doubt we should take exceptions to this view. It is clear that the section did gain new stimulus by the very process of extension, even as a robust mother gains by her growing sons, each contributing new contacts with life, new points of view. It is also clear that the migration from town to city within New England itself in the same period retained in the section many of the most originative and fertilizing of her people, who expressed the New England spirit in new ways, and it is clear that the loss was chiefly in the inland states and counties. It is also to be remembered that in the years between the War of 1812 and the early thirties, when the migrations to the West were becoming a matter of alarm to New England, and contemporaneously with the rise of Jacksonian democracy, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts broke down the political power of the Standing Order (the union of the Congregational Church and the Federalist governments), entered upon a freer, political and social era, and that literature and religion took a new birth.

At this point we meet a problem which has been solved in quite different ways by different writers. Henry Cabot Lodge has magnified the influence and importance of the New England element as a factor in the distribution of American ability by classifying

the names of those recorded in Appleton's *Dictionary of American Biography* according to the sections of their birth. He failed to give due attention to the emphasis placed by the editor of that work upon certain kinds of ability in which New England excelled; to the greater length of time in which New England was producing celebrities entitled to admission to its pantheon⁶; and to the fact that the babes and young children of New England parents who moved West with their parents and who grew up in a Western environment, were all included in his New England list. The rapidity with which the migrated New Englander took on a Western quality is phenomenal but well attested. The result, however, showed a remarkable monopoly of talent by the New England natives. On the other hand, Mr. Gustav Michaud, writing in *The Century* on the "Brain of the Nation" and using *Who's Who*, and correcting some of the faults of Mr. Lodge's method, though he also found a remarkable preponderance of such brains in the New England group, explained the disproportion by alleging that New England was the mecca of idealists in colonial days, and that it was the materialists, the men of action rather than of thought, the less imaginative, who migrated from New England to the West, thereby creating a Western society less able to produce men of talent, and leaving in New England a larger proportion of the neurotic; a class from which he derives the pre-eminent men of genius. I may remark in passing that both Lodge and Michaud have neglected the new environmental factor, that there are defects in their methods, and that the children of the pioneers brought up under Western conditions and ideals have a strikingly increasing ratio in recent issues of *Who's Who*, proportioned to population, and to periods within which ability could manifest itself. This seems to indicate either that, so far as heredity

⁶For example as late as 1850 less than 18 per cent of the population of Wisconsin were natives of that state, while in Massachusetts the percentage was nearly 69.

goes, there was no striking lack of imaginative and creative quality on the side of science and the humanities, as well as in the field of action, on the part of the migrated Yankee stock, or that the conditions of a new social environment were favorable to creative intellectual activity. But that is too considerable a topic to be more than referred to in this paper.⁷

There was, moreover, a counterbalancing element upon New England's *morale*, though it worked destruction to many of her old ideals and traits. New England gained a new life, and a new outlook by losing her former isolation and a certain narrowness of view. Thereafter New England was obliged to take account of the western wing of her people in shaping her policies; was obliged at critical times even to follow their leadership; and could never safely proceed on older lines of New England provincialism in party connection. Platforms, congressional measures, nominations, all reflected adjustments between the different wings of Greater New England and between them and the New York and Pennsylvania elements.

Thereafter the New England banker, railroad promoter, merchant, and manufacturer, also lifted his eyes to a farther horizon and followed with his vision the extending frontier of New England's western sons; he was tempted to build more largely, to see farther. Not seldom it was those New Englanders who had removed as young men to New York

⁷The contribution of the children of these pioneers has been notable. A return movement to the Eastern cities and to the faculties of leading Eastern universities by the men and women of talent born in the West prior to 1870 is one of the striking features of the history of leadership in the East. This element has achieved distinction not only in the field of action but also in science and the humanities.

Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, in *American Men of Letters, Their Nature and Nurture*, (Columbia University Studies LXXII), concludes, on the basis of his statistics, that in the decade of 1841-1850, when were born the writers of forty to sixty years later, the men of New England nativity who achieved distinction in literature still had supremacy, "but its lead had been appreciably reduced. The East North Central States showed the least relative decline in literary fecundity, a fact which may indicate that the future literary leadership of the country is to be theirs." It must be remembered also that among the natives of New England he reckons not a few who came as babes and young children to the West and grew up under the influence of its social environment.

and to the West, and had thereby broken the bonds of custom, who most effectively entered into these expanding opportunities. The very process of sifting by which other sections called away the youthful, the less satisfied, the more optimistic and adventurous, tended, it is true, to leave in a stronger position the more conservative in those regions of New England which were the most affected. But by the middle of the century, the history of New England's domestic commerce and manufacture and her political life in the nation shows an enlarged outlook and a more national attitude as the result of her new relationships with other sections.

In estimating New England's economic losses, we may apply some of the tests used in discussion of foreign emigration, and by the South in its appraisal of its own losses by migration to the West in this period. Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, writing in the thirties, pointed out that the emigration of the slaves from Virginia was compensated by their purchase price; and the encouragement to raise more of such property; but that the emigration of the whites was a dead loss to the South, for the cost of rearing the emigrant to about the age when he was self supporting,—the age when he usually left,—fell upon the parent state, and his productive capacity was lost to the state thereafter. Moreover the emigration from the state carried off free capital, injured agriculture, prevented improvements and reduced the value of land within the state by reducing the competitors for it. Madison contemporaneously made this the fundamental explanation of Virginia's decline. He assumed an average value of \$200 for Virginia's slaves, but they greatly increased in value by 1850.

If we take the foreign immigration test and estimate the value of an adult at \$1,000 and the number of adults at one-fifth of the New England migrated element, (which is too low because of the proportion

of young men who went,) we have 300,000 adults, or a loss of \$300,000,000. On the slave basis of \$200 average in family lots, the total would be the same. Supposing that each migrating family carried as little as \$200 cash and movables, this item would amount to about \$15,500,000 for the 387,000 natives of New England living in the West in 1850. It is likely that this reached at least double the sum.

It has been estimated that in Massachusetts alone between 1850 and 1870 farms were abandoned to the amount of 300,000 acres.⁸ If it had cost \$150 per acre to clear the ordinary woodland in the abandoned farm region,⁹ the net loss, after allowing for the value of the wood, would be \$43,000,000 for this state alone; but Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont showed similar abandonments, not to speak of the less thrifty and less enterprising cultivation on the part of the members of the family who remained to carry on farming where the fields were not abandoned. This is a complicated subject on which farther study is needed. Whatever the money value of labor withdrawn, cleared lands and houses abandoned; and cash and personal property removed, the social and spiritual losses to rural New England were even greater, for a very important part of New England's historic ideals, and of that ability which migrated both to the city, when the agriculture declined, and to the lesser manufacturing towns, as well as to the West, were developed in the rural communities.

On the other side of the ledger, immigration to Southern New England (particularly that of the Irish after the famine) helped to prevent a decline in population, but involved a replacement of stock. In 1850, as we have seen, about as many Irish natives lived in Massachusetts as there were natives of Massachusetts outside of New England.

⁸H. B. Hall, *Agriculture in New England*: MS. thesis in Harvard University.

⁹Johnson, *Notes on American Agriculture*, II, 452, so estimates it.

Even if we should accept the favorable estimates of the ultimate advantage to New England of this inflow of the Irish people, it implied the beginnings of a revolution in her historic society, and at the time it meant a great increase in pauperism and crime, due, no doubt, in a large part, to the poverty of the immigrant people. Penological and charitable institutions and societies took on a new development. With immigration also came later the replacement of the native labor class by the foreign workers in the mills. Hours of work became a burning question. Even before this replacement in the Lowell mills, about 1850, the hours were from 5 A. M. to 7 P. M. with a half hour out at noon, or thirteen hours work.¹⁰ Unfusing groups of capital and labor formed, in which nativity and religion served to emphasize antagonisms at the very time when capital employing labor was undergoing the transformation incident to the industrial revolution. Social homogeneity diminished. The mother section of Greater New England did not exhibit the free intercourse and mutual adjustment of different classes and nationalities observable contemporaneously in the states of the North Central group. An Irish traveller of this period, Grattan, wrote:

"All seem to agree that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the restrained English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness."

As early as 1837 Boston newspapers told of the riot at a military review, when five companies left the field with the American flag flying, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, because an Irish company took part in the parade. A mob beat up this Irish company as

¹⁰See Commons, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, VIII, 141.

it left the Common. A few months earlier a riot had taken place between Irishmen and the fire department which attracted some 10,000 people; and several companies of light infantry and cavalry were required to break up the mob.¹¹ *The Pilot* was established in 1836 as the organ of the Irish-Catholic minority. It is significant of some lack of discernment in New England, however, that in the thirties and forties Protestant ministers like Lyman Beecher fixed their attention upon the West as the region into which Puritan money, missionaries and teachers should be poured to stem the apprehended tide of Catholicism.

It appears, therefore, that in compensating New England for part of her losses by westward migration, foreign immigration brought also fundamental changes in the later development of New England's social and moral life. In like fashion the industrial gains which offset the section's loss of agricultural prosperity were accompanied by revolutionary changes. In 1810 two-thirds of the people of Southern New England lived in townships of less than 3,000 inhabitants, and for the most part on farms. In 1860 only one-third lived in such towns.¹² The factory took the place of the household as the manufacturing unit. The little household industries in Southern New England had for over a generation been training artisans in the production of Yankee notions, sold by peddlers and others to remote regions. The development of the

¹¹Boston Commercial Gazette, Sept. 13, and June 12, 1837. Writing in 1842, Emerson says in his *Journal*, "Edmund Hosmer was willing to sell his farm five years ago for \$3800 and go to the West. He found and still finds that the Irish of which there are two hundred in this town [Concord] are under-selling him in labor, and he does not see how he and his boys can do those things which only he is willing to do; for go to market he will not, nor shall his boys with his consent do any of those things for which high wages are paid, as for example, take any shop, or the office of foreman or agent in any corporation wherein there seems to be a premium paid for faculty as if it were paid for the faculty of cheating. He does not see how he and his children are to prosper here, and the only way for them is to run, the Caucasian [sic] before the Irishman."

¹²Percy W. Bidwell, in *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, December, 1917, p. 816; Grace P. Fuller, *Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, *Smith College Studies*, I, 53, 54.

factory system was based in part upon this pre-existing skilled labor, and, as the markets widened, the peddler was replaced by the merchant who applied his capital to the purchase of manufactured goods and marketed them where he could. A wider outlook for the business man appeared to West and South, at the same time that a self-conscious laboring class was evolved, when the old time intimate local relations of small manufacturer and his men were superseded.¹³ Problems of long hours, child and woman labor, and wages, emerged and engaged the attention of legislators contemporaneously with the clearly-marked development of the business leaders who seized the opportunity of interstate commerce to West and South.

New England had long been dependent upon other regions, especially the states of the North Central division, to which Greater New England had spread, for food and raw materials. In 1850 New England produced but thirteen quarts of wheat per capita in place of the five or six bushels needed. She raised only three and seven-tenths bushels of corn per capita. By 1860 Southern New England was almost wholly dependent on the other states for her bread stuffs.¹⁴ Between 1840 and 1870 the sheep industry of New England declined sharply, while that of the North Central States rose to the leadership.¹⁵ Thus one recompense to the farmer was withdrawn. He could not turn his arable land into sheep pasture. The construction of the Western railway which opened the Western markets to Boston only accelerated the

¹³Emerson records in his *Journal* in the spring of 1837 that he was as "gay as a canary bird with this new knowledge. It has been a sensible relief to learn that the destiny of New England is to be the manufacturing country of America. I no longer suffer in the cold out of morbid sympathy with the farmer. The love of the farmer shall spoil no more days for me."

¹⁴U. S. Census, 1860, *Agriculture*.

¹⁵See Chart IV in C. W. Wright, *Wool Growing and the Tariff*, and Chapter V; maps in H. C. Taylor, *University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 16, 1911.

downfall of rural New England. Boston's Oriental commerce by way of the Pacific declined after the thirties, and in the forties an important part of the eastward trade to China passed into New York hands.

The capital which had formerly been invested in ocean commerce began to find new investments not only in the factories, the greatest of which were developed in this period by some of the very men who had been merchants in the commerce with the Orient,¹⁶ but also in railroads.¹⁷ Greater New England in New York and in the Middle West had an important share in these undertakings. Visions not only of connecting the Atlantic with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi but also of transcontinental lines that should open the Pacific and the shores of China passed before the eyes of the Greater New England promoters. The section itself tended to follow the trail of her pioneers to new industrial empires.¹⁸ But her shift in trade modified her interest both in foreign diplomatic questions and national domestic politics.

Of Greater New England in the Far West I shall not have time to speak. It may suffice to recall that in the thirties Nat Wyeth, the Cambridge ice man, with New England missionaries, opened an overland road for New England influence in Oregon; that

¹⁶For example, Francis C. Lowell. See Victor Clark, *History of Manufactures in U. S.*, 367, 451, and authorities cited there.

¹⁷A type is John Murray Forbes; see Pearson, *A Railway Builder*. There is abundant evidence of the importance and extent of this transfer.

¹⁸Writing in 1837 Emerson says in his *Journal*: "I listen by night, I gaze by day at the endless procession of wagons loaded with the wealth of all regions of England and China, of Turkey and of the Indies, which from Boston creep by my gate to all the towns of New Hampshire and Vermont. With creaking wheels at midsummer and crunching the snows, on huge sledges in January, the train goes forward at all hours, bearing this cargo of inexhaustible comfort and luxury to every cabin in the hills."

But five years later he writes: (1842, l. c. VI, 269) "The prosperity of Boston is an unexpected consequence of steam-communication. The frightful expenses of steam make the greater neighborhood of Boston to Europe a circumstance of commanding importance,—and the ports of Havre and Liverpool are two days nearer to Boston than to New York. This superiority for the steam post added to the contemporaneous opening of its great lines of railroad, like iron rivers, which already are making it the depot for flour from Western New York, Michigan, Illinois, promises a great prosperity to that city."

Yankee trading ships had long made both the Northwest coast and California and Hawaii familiar to Boston merchants; that in the late twenties Jedediah Smith, of New England stock, first explored the route from Salt Lake basin to California;¹⁹ that the last president of Texas was a Berkshire doctor; that the Prophet Joseph Smith and his leonine successor, Brigham Young, founded a theocratic commonwealth chiefly of Greater New Englanders in the deserts of Utah and thereby adapted the New England town and a much modified Puritan religious organization to the needs of an irrigation community, which spread over a region as large as several European states.

As industrial life took on greater breadth and intensity and as it sought western connections, New England, true to Puritan instincts, stirred by the growth of the West and by the colonization of her people in the North Central states, attempted to hold them to her traditional ideals and culture by collecting funds for schools and churches to be established in the newly settled western lands. There was a migration not only of men and markets, but of ideals and institutions. The home missionary movements and the organizations for promotion of both common schools and higher education are types of this interest. In all the states of the Middle West New England leadership in these directions was marked. Lawyers, doctors, editors, politicians, teachers, and ministers, all felt the call to these new fields and took a share, disproportionate to their numbers, in the origins and development of the institutions of society in the West. A sectional rivalry for ascendancy in these hinterlands of eastern civilization was under way, and even churches enlisted in the campaign and were modified at home by the new stimuli. But it must be remembered that the West itself deeply affected and even

¹⁹Men like the Bents, of Bent's Fort, the Gerrys, descendants of Elbridge Gerry, in Colorado, and a long list of California adventurers illustrate the picturesque side of the wandering Yankee, influential in this general period.

shaped these spiritual forces by the influence of its own society and ideals, and that many a New England missionary of Puritan civilization became so changed by his removal as to find New England itself no longer a congenial home. There was giving as well as taking on the part of Greater New England in the West. The unfolding of these influences belongs to another paper.

These western activities all had their influences upon New England's literature in the generation between 1830 and 1860. Her old interests and her old ways of thinking were modified and enlarged with the rise of Jacksonian democracy and the vision of a vaster destiny, as the American people found new and farther-reaching ways. Innovation gained new converts. New conceptions replaced the conception of the "Institutions of God" held by Cotton Mather and his spiritual descendants; "the hedge" was no longer so jealously guarded by the Angel of the Lord;²⁰ independence of thought grew as Greater New England formed.²¹

It may be, as has been claimed, that it was in part due to the formation of a leisure class and to the rise of new wealth that literature took a new life in these years. Certainly there were marked evidences of such changes, among the more amusing the appearance of a kind of Boston Blue Book, under the title "Our First Men" (1846), which limited this élite to those possessing over a hundred thousand dollars. But the connections between the spirit of the new literature and this rise of new fortunes is difficult to establish, and to a disproportionate degree the smaller cities had their part in furnishing the men of talent.

²⁰See Mather as quoted in my paper on *The First Official Frontier of Massachusetts* in *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XVII, 269.

²¹"The yoke of opinion," wrote William Ellery Channing, to a western friend who had asked him to give an address, "is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action," and he added that "the habits, rules and criticisms under which he had grown up had not left him the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people."

Nowhere, perhaps, is the spirit of the new literature better expressed than in Emerson and his group; and theirs was a literature of revolt. The so-called Transcendentalists reflect many of the tendencies which I have outlined. Western confidence in the common man, its optimistic faith, its dealings with the common things of life in an idealistic spirit, its realization that America was another name for opportunity, its break with the past, and its emphasis upon the individual, its realization of the possibility of a new order of society, its sense of the spaciousness of the new America that was forming in the thirties and forties, and its yearning for a nation and a career commensurate with its spaces, find expression in Emerson's *Journal* and in various of his essays and addresses.²² Not only Plato and German philosophy, not only the Unitarian revolt within Puritanism itself, not only the native New England quality, but also the direct stimulus of Jacksonian democracy²³ and the shock of change within the society of New England which accompanied the formation of Greater New England, must be reckoned with to explain Emerson and his school.²⁴

A new *tempo* came into New England life as her people broke the crust of custom, moved to new lands, and shared more fully in the temper of the nation. The penny press, with a demand for greater rapidity

²²The case might be rested on his Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1837 on "The American Scholar" and on the address of 1844 on "The Young American;" but the *Journals* also give direct evidence of the influence of the westward movement upon his imagination and conceptions, at successive periods.

²³In his *Journal* (III, 308) in 1834, Emerson writes: "Sometimes the life seems dying out of all literature, and this enormous paper currency of Words is accepted instead. I suppose the evil may be cured by this rank rabble party, the Jacksonism of the country, heedless of English and of all literature—a stone cut out of the ground without hands;—they may root out the hollow dilettantism of our cultivation in the coarsest way, and the new-born may begin again to frame their own world with greater advantage."

²⁴Dr. H. C. Goddard, in the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 348, has emphasized the essentially native character of the Transcendentalists; but the western influences of the time need further attention. They furnished the indirect background of the movement. It is the new note of enthusiasm and the directions of the idealism which requires explanation.

in the gathering and transmission of news, greater interest in the stock market and the police courts, and a new sensationalism and appeal to the masses, shocked the older journalism. Express companies were developed by leaders who later made them national institutions. In all directions was there acceleration and greater interest in the common man. New philanthropies, new endowments for the education of the people appeared. All of these and like changes of these revolutionary decades were in part symptoms of the times in general, but in part also, and to a degree which needs emphasis, they were part of the break-up of old New England which accompanied the formation of a Greater New England. She gained her life by losing it.

A GENTLEWOMAN OF BOSTON

1742-1805

BY BARRETT WENDELL

Years ago, when they had wax figures in the long since vanished Boston Museum, there was observed among them one marked "Catherine Wendell, a Beauty of the Last Century," or some such thing. Who she was nobody seemed to remember. The chances are that an old gown marked with her name had been found somewhere, put on a frame, surmounted by a wax head like those occasionally to be seen in shop windows, and then described as a portrait. Gown, head and all disappeared a good while before the last play was acted in the Lecture Room of the Museum. Even the memory of them has almost faded now. So nobody can tell whether she was the same Catherine Wendell who wrote some letters forgotten for more than a hundred years and lately found. One likes to fancy that she may have been. The letters are not remarkable to be sure, and after the fashion of the Eighteenth Century they are spelt and punctuated pretty much anyhow. Reduce them to formal shape though, without altering a syllable, and you begin to feel that the woman who wrote them, beauty or not, not only knew how to use the English language, but so used it through many years of declining fortune as to leave behind her traces of the quality which our ancestors used to call that of a gentlewoman.

When she wrote the earliest of the letters she was already an old maid, as things went in the Eighteenth

Century; for, still unmarried, she had reached the age of twenty-seven. And the rather hasty lines show that she was confronted with difficulties which she did not mean to yield to. She was the tenth of the fifteen children of John and Elizabeth (Quincy) Wendell, of Boston, and she was first cousin through both father and mother of the still traditionally remembered Dorothy Quincy, who married the celebrated John Hancock. When she was born, in 1742, her people held their heads rather high. A few years before, her paternal grandfather, a New York Dutchman, who had there come to grief in a money way, had moved to Boston, where his convivial qualities had made so agreeable an impression as to lure the Governor and His Majesty's Council to attend his funeral in state. A little later her maternal grandfather, the third Edmund Quincy, had died in London, where he had gone as official representative of the Province of Massachusetts; and the General Court had honored his memory by voting to put over him, at public expense, a fine monument in Bunhill Fields—for some reason or other never erected, so his unmarked grave has long been lost. Her father, educated in Boston, and a substantial merchant there at a time when Boston merchants, like those of old Italy, wore their swords, had worn his to such advantage that in 1740 he was elected, on Boston Common, to the command of The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. On one occasion, too, he is recorded by his friend Captain Goelet to have drawn it. He had given, in Goelet's honour, a dinner party, at the close of which the gentlemen had thought well to go out and clear their heads by a walk in the night air. Attracted by the sound of fiddles, they had presently entered a tavern, somewhere near the Common, to find a number of pretty girls dancing with youths of humbler condition than theirs. So out came the swords of the Captains and their friends, and away scampered the frightened youths, leaving the pretty girls to dance

with their betters as long as their betters chose. It is fair to add that the two Captains went to church together next Sunday morning, and gravely discussed the sermon afterwards. George the Second's Boston maintained the traditions of the Puritan fathers, among which few were more tenacious than that which demanded recognition for persons of quality.

When Catherine was about eight years old, her mother died, having meanwhile borne five more children, of whom two survived. Some three years later, her father married, Mercy, widow of Captain John Skinner, of Marblehead; this lady, who had Skinner children, though faultless in character and of high respectability, appears to have been less distinguished in origin than his first wife, Elizabeth Quincy, and to have brought no addition to his rather unstable fortunes. So the inheritance of his children,—consisting mostly of unimproved lands in Granville which had earlier been called Bedford, a little to the west of Springfield, given their mother by her father, Judge Quincy,—appeared to them important. Meanwhile, the family lived well; their house, on the corner of Tremont and Court Streets, was subsequently lifted up, to make room under it for the store occupied by the well-known grocer S. S. Pierce, and so remained there till Catherine had been safe in the Granary Burying Ground for more than seventy-five years. And of her nine elders seven survived till after she was twenty years old. These were Abraham, who went into business with his father, and died unmarried at the age of twenty-five; Elizabeth, who married a well-to-do Boston merchant named Solomon Davis; John, who took his degree at Harvard in 1750, and presently betook himself to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he lived on till 1808; Dorothy, on whom we shall touch by and by; Edmund, who early became a ship-master; Henry, who after a rather riotous youth died young at sea; and Josiah, who was lost at sea when little more than of age. There were

two younger children as well: Thomas, two years Catherine's junior, and Sarah, a year younger than Thomas.

Though no personal trace of her exists until her first remaining letter to her brother John, written in 1769, two or three papers touch on her surroundings. In June, 1752, Solomon Davis, already married to her eldest sister, adds to a business letter, addressed to her brother John in Portsmouth, this brief potscript: "Brother Richard Skinner [a son of her step-mother] and sister Dolly [her own unmarried sister] are with us, and join in love to you, as does your sister Davis. They say Richard courts Dolly." He did, and to Dolly's grief successfully. We shall meet her often again. Six years later, in 1758, her brother John, already five years married to Sarah Wentworth, of Portsmouth, grand-daughter of John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, and cousin of Governor Benning Wentworth, made a journey to Springfield in the interest of the whole family. The lands in Granville given their mother by Judge Quincy remained undivided. He secured an order from the Court at Springfield that a formal division be made—two-elevenths to the estate of his elder brother Abraham, who had been heir-at-law, and one-eleventh to each of the others. The division was made; Catherine thereby became a landed proprietor, though not yet of age, and Brother John collected from his brothers and sisters the sum of £61.18.0, probably in provincial currency, in return for which he rendered an itemized account of his expenses.

Brother John was enterprising. He at once bought, for £133.6.8, the two-elevenths assigned to the estate of Abraham, and a few months later he secured Henry's eleventh for £60.0.0. So he owned in 1759 four-elevenths of the Granville lands, originally belonging to his grandfather Quincy. Thus the matter seems to have stood on December 15, 1762, when Solomon Davis wrote him as follows: "About seven

o'clock this morning it pleased Almighty God in his Providence to summon your worthy father out of this world. The loss I sincerely condole. Under the circumstances you will no doubt think it necessary you should be here in person as the direction of his interests devolves on you. All your friends join in condoling your and their bereavement. As nothing will be done but what is absolutely necessary, it will be best for you to be here as soon as possible." So Brother John made post-haste from Portsmouth to Boston; and there was a grand funeral which cost £67.6.8, including £8.0.6 for Catherine's mourning, and about as much for that of three slaves, Caesar, Thomas and Phyllis; and the worthy father was laid beside his own in the Granary Burying Ground; and before the month was out Brother John was made administrator of his estate, which by and by proved insolvent. So all Catherine had seems to have been her eleventh of grandfather Quincy's land in Granville. The insolvent estate proved troublesome, and incidentally involved some interesting letters from that most excellent and popularly misunderstood magistrate, Thomas Hutchinson, concerning conflicts of provincial law; for, Brother John, the administrator, lived not in Massachusetts where the estate belonged, but in the then quite distinct province of New Hampshire. Brother Edmund, when his father died, was in London, commanding a ship bound for Boston; Brother Josiah was soon lost at sea, if indeed he had not been already; Brother Henry was soon to follow him. And there were disputes about advanced money. In May, 1763, Solomon Davis wrote the perplexed administrator: "As for the money you let Mr. Skinner and mother have, I have nothing to do with it, neither will I. We expect Brother Ned in about three weeks." By December this matter had come to law, and a detailed account of what the dead old gentleman had paid out for his step-daughter, Tabitha Skinner—which amounted to £625.13.6 "Old

Tenor"—was duly filed, and stays faintly interesting as evidence of what a Boston girl, of good condition, wore at the beginning of the reign of George the Third. Incidentally, however, this implies imperfect cordiality in the relations between Brother John and his step-mother together with the Skinner family, which by that time included his sister Dorothy. A letter from Richard Skinner, her husband, in April, 1764, shows that they were in a bad way as concerns both money and health; in point of fact, his habits are said to have been intemperate. All of which did not prevent Brother John from buying next August, for £64.0.0, the one-eleventh of the Granville lands which had been assigned to his sister Davis; thus he became possessed of five-elevenths of that Quincy property. The Granville matter seems confused, though. In July, 1768, some two hundred acres there were sold at auction, as part of the estate of John Wendell deceased, to one Timothy Robinson, for £87.5.6; and less than a week later this Robinson conveyed them for the same sum to Brother John. In October, 1768, Brother John, already administrator of his father's estate, was appointed by Thomas Hutchinson, then Judge of Probate in Massachusetts, administrator of the estates of Brothers Abraham, Henry and Josiah. Clearly, this eldest surviving brother was getting things, so far as he could, into his own hands. This last matter, though, appears chiefly to concern not the Granville lands but some other property, in Milton, inherited from Judge Quincy, which Hutchinson himself wished to buy.

Meanwhile, Brother Tom, the youngest of the three surviving brothers, by that time living at Marblehead, where the Skinners belonged, had been in Boston, and in some sort of money difficulties. It is all indistinct, but very plainly the family affairs were by no means prosperous. A letter from Uncle Edmund Quincy, however,—he was Mrs. Hancock's father,—implies that in 1769 fortune was smiling on Brother Edmund, who,

still a sea-faring man, had agreeable social qualities and a contract to supply masts to His Majesty's Navy, and on his Brother John, at Portsmouth. Between them they managed, before Edmund started on another voyage, to give Thomas Hutchinson some sort of title to the Milton lands. Edmund's voyage was not long; before the end of the year he was in Boston again and had made an excursion to Portsmouth. These two brothers, on the whole, were fairly well sustaining the family traditions; and so, to all appearances, was sister Davis, and the youngest sister, Sarah, who presently married a brother of the later distinguished Elbridge Gerry, and lived, like the luckless Skinners and the not too prosperous Brother Tom, at Marblehead.

Catherine, meanwhile, the only one of the family not yet married, seems to have taken up her abode with the Davises, in Boston; and, as sister Davis was apt to be in a family way, and otherwise not vigorous, to have taken considerable charge of the Davis housekeeping and children. She did not relish dependence, however. Her first letter to Brother John is short, simple and to the point. "I am in some little way to support myself" she writes; but to do so she needs money, and accordingly offers him her eleventh of the Granville lands for £300.0.0. In view of what he had paid for his other holdings there, this price looks hardly modest. What came of this offer does not appear. Brother John, though, clearly had an eye on Granville; for, in 1771, he bought of one Cotton Mather Stevens, a Portsmouth tailor, the rights in Granville which Stevens had inherited from his mother whose grandfather was a Mather; these cost only £19.0.0 in provincial money.

The next glimpse of Catherine, or rather of things close to her, is to be found in some letters from uncle Edmund Quincy, in the next year, 1772. They touch on the negro Tom, whose mourning had duly appeared in the funeral accounts of the elder John Wendell,

some ten years before. Tom, now thirty or forty years old, had been born in New York, as a slave, in the family of this John Wendell's grandmother, Mrs. Dekey, and had finally been sent to her grandson in Boston, partly as an inheritance, and partly that he should not be sold to strangers; he had been trained to the trade of a painter, and is described as skilful. Brother John seems to have claimed him as administrator, which was all right, and to have taken personal possession of him at Portsmouth, which may or may not have been. On May 11, 1772, Uncle Edmund wrote to Brother John thus: "The same day I received yours about your man Tom's desertion, he, after a fatiguing journey via Haverhill came to your brother Davis's house. This morning he has been with me and says and by all accounts he means honestly to return home if you have altered your mind touching his changing masters; on which errand he says he suddenly left you, thinking some person here might be likely to buy him, and here chose to be if he parted from you. I don't see any possibility of his leaving the town, as he knows nothing from me of being confined in gaol at Boston, and I think it's a pity to put him there, as if you sell him it will depreciate his value, and if you keep him it may sour him and thus render him less useful. He's a *slave*, a rank of the human species which begins to be more and more disagreeable to the people of this continent, particularly to the Northward, where *Liberty*, in its most genuine and proper idea, runs so high. Great Britain very wisely, many centuries past, banished slavery. America, which as Dr. Franklin says is already too blackened by it, can't easily rid itself of the evil. The most Southern provinces are averse. Those Christians who have them are called to do all they can to render their black servants comfortable but are further evangelically obliged to contribute everything in their power by precept and instruction, and especially by example, that after a life of tolerable

service here, their present slavery, with themselves, may pass into a life of perfect freedom. The future similar circumstance of both master and servant should weigh with all, and will weigh with the Christian master." Two weeks later he touched on the matter again: "I note what you say of Captain Miller not bringing your negro Tom at which you wonder, and I wonder as much that I have no answer to mine by post Monday last, giving [by which the good old gentleman probably meant *asking*] directions for sending Tom home either by land or by water. I fear you omit inquiring after a letter. Your boy, notwithstanding what Miller told you, would have come in him, had I or anybody else thought it proper to return your property by water without the least intimation of your mind touching his so coming. Now that you have shown yourself uneasy that he did not go by water, I shall order him on board the first that goes. For, [I] assure you, your brother Davis never objected to my sending him that I know—if he had you would have heard it from me last week. I note what you say about the piece of villainy in which Tom is suspected of privity at least, and hope Mr. Clarkson may find his money by T.'s help."

In three days more things looked less clear: "I sent for Tom," wrote Uncle Edmund, "to go on board *Fournal* or *Yeaton*. He prays that I would write about his really procuring a master here; he'd rather be in Boston; and so forth. I begin to suspect that the true reason is too deep a concern in the affairs of C[larkson]. Now what step is to be taken? If you would have him returned to you I shall upon your advice agree with the master to take him just as he is departing, and shall send him on board, upon notice, by a constable or some proper person."

Now all this came pretty close to Catherine. She had been a girl of fifteen or so when Tom arrived from New York, as a house slave, born in the family, to live at her father's. She was herself living with the

Davises when runaway Tom took refuge there. It is just conceivable that she saw in Tom's training as a painter some prospect of help towards her "little way to support" herself. And Uncle Edmund's next extant letter, written on June 15, shows that Brother John suspected her to have something to do with the wood pile in which his troublesome negro was skulking. "I must say" he wrote, "in justice to Captain Davis, your sister Davis and sister Katy that they never surmised any pretentions or desire to keep him with them, for which reason I'm sorry a thing of that sort was ever carried to you, as I find by divers of your letters mutual uneasiness has ensued from it. I would have a final embargo laid upon everything of that kind, that so peace of family may be preserved. You know in former years such peace was the very singular character of the Wendell family. May God continue it and increase it, upon this maxim if no other—that life is so very short and our enjoyments of each other so precarious that there is scarce a thing or subject to be mentioned which is worthy of a wise man or woman, and a philosopher, to disturb himself or herself with . . . Your man Tom is now in my office getting ready cheerfully to go on board with Dr. Little. *Sub modo suo*, he begs hard at the distance of seventy miles that you would not be angry with him, promising absolute subjection to the will of a naturally kind master, and that he will do everything to please him and his mistress also on all accounts. I have told him that I would hand his request to you but could promise nothing. I should be well pleased in being able to say as much in his favor as St. Paul wrote to his Brother Philemon concerning Onesimus, his servant. However, I know you'll weigh the hints already suggested, and take such steps as your prudence may upon the whole dictate."

So Tom went back to Portsmouth, where Brother John seems not to have sold him after all. And what

Uncle Edmund described as the "peace of family" which had been the "very singular character" of the Wendells, was apparently renewed. For in August Brother Ned, on a visit to Portsmouth, brought with him a friendly note from Catherine to "Sister Wendell," stating that £2.19.8 was the "balance of the caps sent you." Catherine's taste was evidently trustworthy, and Sister Wendell duly paid the little balance. Haplessly enough, though, this was among the good lady's last acts. In nineteen years she had borne eleven children, of whom seven survived. Four of them, as well as the mother, were ailing in September; and the poor lady with her eldest daughter, then eighteen years old, were not well enough to accept in October an invitation from Elbridge Gerry at Marblehead, who was of opinion that "in addition to the advantage of a ride by land, the salt air here would serve as a voyage to sea." And on the 17th of November, she rested in the Lord, leaving Brother John widowed at forty-one, with seven children under eighteen. He made haste to dispatch a "very just and good" character of her to Uncle Edmund, who duly arranged that it should appear, on one of the last Thursdays in the month, in Mr. Green's newspaper, where very possibly the curious may still find it; and letters of condolence came flowing in.

Uncle Edmund was perhaps prematurely solicitous about the orphaned children. Their "loss," he wrote, "can't easily be repaired. Yours possibly may, but I heartily advise you to be very cautious in the reparation. But as speedily as may be procure the most prudent, wise and good woman to instruct, guide and govern them under your auspices. This I only hint. I hope you are already provided, or may be soon with such an one."

Two or three weeks later, he recurred to this matter, with excursions into Latin and dubious French: "I hope this may find you and your bereaved children well, and wish if possible they may have their loss in

due time compensated. In repairing the same, as I may have hinted in my former, *Festina lenté*. Regardez les qualitez de la person plus que [la] famille (toujours de la reputation) mais ce n'est pas necessaire d'être riche. Remember Horace's banter in his first Epistle to Maecenas," and so on. Evidently, Brother John's connubial propensities weighed on his uncle's mind.

Catherine's condolence, though formally old fashioned now, looks more impulsive: "It is the confessed principle of us all," she wrote, "to believe whatever is right. Give me leave to send you the following, as they flow from a sympathetic heart: but at the same time [I] must beg, as they are very imperfect, you will view them with a partial eye:

Great God, whose just commands but thine
Could tempt or force me to obey?
Shall I Thy Sovereign will repine,
O Thou who tak'st my all away?
No! Let my wounded passion plead
For ease, when struggling sorrows throng.
My throbbing heart no more shall bleed,
Nor accents murmur from my tongue.
Thou art thy Maker's claim—not mine,
When He the awful summons sends
I must thy tender soul resign;
To some He gives, to others lends.
Then may we meet—in one unite—
Like kindred souls before the throne.
Auspicious Heaven, resplendent, bright,
Receive our souls; join them in one."

Now, unless I am all wrong, one of these sixteen lines is either a judiciously appropriated or else an admirably simple expression of genuine Christian resignation on the part of this Boston spinster. "To some He gives, to others lends" is good enough for Wordsworth or for Whittier. And to be one-sixteenth of a poet, in the twelfth year of King George the Third's dominion over his Yankee provinces, is to be something else than commonplace.

Three months later, in February 1773, she wrote a long letter to Brother John, who seems seldom to have written her; "I believe the cold has dropped into your ink-horn and deprived you of the use of it. I should be glad to know what is the reason that Sally [Brother John's eldest child] can't or rather won't write me. It would give me much pleasure . . ." The Skinners, she goes on to tell him, are in a bad way. Measles have broken up a school which sister Skinner had opened. Brother Davis is kind; Catherine herself does all she can; but the Skinners are reduced to dining on potatoes. "I sincerely believe her a good Christian" she writes; but, as to Richard Skinner, "I can't but be much incensed against him. He certainly must be void of all sensibility, or would exert himself and go to sea, as he has failed in other attempts. I have said so much already that I have made him my enemy." Brother John, she thinks, would do well to write sister Skinner affectionately—"I should be glad to know," she adds, "if [your children] have had the measles. 'Siah [probably a Davis child] is just got well of them, and I think the chance now in his favor of his getting rid of his other complaint"—whatever that may have been.

At this time Brother Ned was again in England. As to Brother John, Catherine evidently had little news from him, for in September she wrote him thus: "It is well for us on both sides, my dear brother, that there are public prints, for that is the only resource I have. On Saturday nights, when we have the paper, I just look under [the] Portsmouth head, [and] finding no mention I conclude you are alive. As to Mr. Wentworth, I've scarcely seen him since he has been here. My brother and sister" (Davis) "being out of town, I suppose he would not favor me with so much of his company. You see what little attraction is left in your sister. Poor Mr. Inman has lost a fine daughter with a throat distemper. The Londoners are in; I've heard nothing material, [probably

concerning Brother Ned still abroad.] My love to the children. I'm very sorry Sally thinks her aunt of so little consequence as not to write her."

The next remaining letter from her is sadly torn; but seems to have been written late in the summer of 1774. By that time Brother Ned, whose affairs in England were upset by the rising political troubles, had betaken himself to Antigua and there married a widow who in October primly answered a formal letter of congratulation, at just about the time when her husband sent home a small consignment of sugar and rum. Catherine begins by complaints of impoliteness on the part of one F. who commanded a ship bound to Portsmouth from Boston: "Would you believe it, he would neither take this to you nor let his negro, who spends [the] chief of his evenings in our kitchen. Upon my word, I grow exceedingly out of humor with American manners. He told Mr. D[avis] he wa'n't a going to spend his time with letters—there was a post and I might give it to him. But such a dog is unworthy [to be] the subject of a female pen; so I shall leave him; and continue to reply to yours." The reply implies two facts not otherwise recorded—that Brother John was extensively surveying womankind with a view to a second marriage, and that he was already attracted by a rather young cousin of his departed wife, named Dorothy Sherburne, who finally married him some four years later, and survived him nearly thirty years, dying in 1837.—"Firstly" she goes on, "you tax me with my silence on the worthy Miss H., my deserting you, and I don't know what all. But before I excuse myself on that head you are to answer my question: Who deserted first, you that choose a Doll for your amusement, or I that would not subject my brother, though a wanton widower, to the discernment of a lady who could see through his caprice, had I wrote her all I know? No, no, my dear; she's not to be sneezed at, I assure you. When sons believe their father is going to take a Doll, I begin to

think the truth of it too; and also that it's some sign of that dotage my brother talks of in others. No matter; once a man and twice a child. I shall talk the matter over with you, perhaps, ere this reaches you. Secondly, as to the W [idow], I an't seen her lately, but I hope she has more wit than her enemies—ay, and sense too,—or I should depose her from my love, which is really sincere. Thirdly, as to paper money. It's the devil's coin and they that fabricate it his commissioners. I suppose you have heard some of the commissioners have lately been concerned in counterfeiting a large sum—pretty devils! Fourthly, you ask me a natural though tender question: Have I heard from Antigua? I can only answer in the negative. I transiently heard he [doubtless Brother Ned, whatever he had been doing] was well. God continue it till I am no more, prays his still affectionate sister. Had I expected the worst of him, I thought there might be forgiveness expected. I wish much to know your opinion of natural affection—whether it is not put out of existence [in] these times. That it once subsisted I firmly believe, but such proofs against it as I have lately seen make me doubt its non-existence. Fifthly, you expected a long letter. Sixthly, I think you want to be disappointed, though I am sorry to put you to the double expense of perusing and paying for it. But I don't know another opportunity; and it will take only one act to pay it. I think on the whole you come pretty well off, [with] such a long letter from one who loves you in spite of your lies. Truth is worn out; all things become new.—Do bring with you Sister D[avis]'s age, also Aunt Dennie's." Sister Davis in point of fact, was then forty-five years old, and seemingly not young for her age; Aunt Dennie, born Sarah Wendell, was fifty-three, and perhaps well preserved; and Catherine herself was thirty-two.

The next year, 1775, as everybody knows, was troublous in American history, and ended with Boston,

still held by the British troops, besieged by Washington. The only remaining letter from Catherine, however, though written only three weeks before the Battle of Lexington, no wise implies these disorders. She addresses her brother as Amintor, signs herself Aminta, touches lightly on family matters, and is throughout in a bantering mood. Some aspirant for her hand seems to have turned up at Portsmouth. "If he's under forty" she writes, "a tolerable good fortune, an easy genteel address, just sense enough to discern I've none, good-tempered enough to let me have my own way,—tell him I'm the girl for him, and that I'm dying with impatience to see him." With her niece Sally, Brother John's eldest child, by this time well on to twenty-one, things looked less bright; a fickle young suitor of the girl is now reported about to marry somebody in Boston. Mrs. Bull, or some such name, who has lately had an accident, sends her love to Sally, and has given Catherine "a locket of hers and two nieces' hair" set in garnets. And Catherine is grateful to Sally for a present of embroidery. "The widow" she goes on, "I've seen but once since I wrote you. I can say no more of her than what I ever have: she's a worthy woman. I observe you mention your mills attract you another way. I would only say to that—when you want to add to your grist, saw, and bottling mills I think it probable you may find the wind and water mills this way at your service." One infers that Brother John's matrimonial surveys of womankind were thought not to be imprudently negligent of ways and means; though who beside Dolly Sherburne came within his range of observation nobody has remembered these hundred years. As for Catherine, despite the fact that embattled farmers were so soon to fire the shot heard round the world, she seems troubled only by her immediate concerns. She wants to write to Antigua, but seemingly can find no ship bound there. She owes £200.0.0, and would like to sell her land—

evidently a hint that her Granville property may be had cheaper than in 1769, when she offered what she held there for three hundred. And she is rather afraid that she may catch the smallpox, then prevalent in Boston.

The only trace of her in 1776 is on the 25th of May. By that time Boston had been two months in American hands; in two months more the Declaration of Independence had been signed. To escape the siege or the smallpox or both she had betaken herself to Barnstable—perhaps the longest journey from home she ever made—and there for the sum of £69.0.0 lawful money, she finally conveyed her Granville land to Brother John, who had meanwhile had other dealings in that region with Timothy Robinson, an illiterate person, but apparently shrewd. Her letter written on the same day, touches, in bantering terms, but serious mood, on Brother John's matrimonial projects. One gathers that he had almost if not quite proposed to the widow, and taken advantage of coyness on her part to withdraw; that the widow expected his advances to be renewed; and that Catherine rather thinks him in honor bound to renew them. "You don't think," she proceeds, "how I long to see you and the children. The shock of [the] distance I'm at from all my brothers and sisters often throws me into a state of despair. Sister Davis's late indisposition has been a shocking stroke to me, and the losing of some of my very valuable friends being an addition I have no pleasing time of it, I assure you. But, thank Heaven, her complaints have a little abated, and I trust I may find some new friends." And this is the last glimpse of Catherine Wendell under the Crown, getting on toward thirty-five.

By May, 1777, Brother John, who was meanwhile trying to sell some of his Granville holdings, and wanted to drive a hardish bargain with one Pratt there, seems to have been pretty nearly engaged to be married to Dorothy Sherburne, then about twenty-

five; she married him a year later. Catherine was again in Boston. She touches lightly on his matrimonial decision, is glad to be at home once more, and has had her things sent back from Barnstable. And that is about all. It was probably in this year, however, or perhaps toward the end of 1776, that sister Davis died, after some twenty-five years of happy marriage, leaving a son Edward a daughter Betsy, and other children. Under these circumstances, Solomon Davis clearly needed a new wife almost as much as brother John did. The British law against marriage with a deceased wife's sister had never prevailed in New England, where such marriages have always been usual and completely sanctioned by public opinion. Catherine had long lived in the Davis household, and seems to have been cordially liked there; she was already on the verge of middle-age—and in fact never bore children. So the next time we hear of her she had been married, in November, 1777, to Brother Davis, and everybody but Brother Ned, at Antigua, seems to have been happy.

Towards the end of February, 1778, she wrote Brother John her first extant letter signed by her married name. Part of it runs thus: "You expect a reply to what you ask—I mean what do I think of independence? I answer in a word: I firmly believe it will be the perdition of every one of us, even those whose very existence depends on keeping up the dispute. Instead of future generations rising up to bless them, I believe they will be cursed by the last who breathe on earth.—Now you have it. We are all already undone, threatened on every side with want, particularly that of bread, which is felt by all the poor and is breaking [out] in the families of the rich, if any such there is among us. America's downfall is rapid in its progress, and what was her boast now is her shame. She is divested of all her shining beauties: viz.—religion, public virtue, humanity,

compassion, brotherly love and charity. The widow, the orphan and the poor feel it; for them my heart aches. Boston was once remarkable and united by her hospitality, even [to] the inhabitants of distant climes; but now [is] such a prostitute to oppression, extortion, envy, malice, tyranny, hatred, and in short every sort of bitterness that it's now the object of contempt and ridicule. The source of all this I leave you to determine for yourself. I shall keep my own sentiments on the same. You see the danger of giving me a latitude in what you have endeavored to surmise. I could not speak my mind a great while before, nor would I [now] to any but you. Though, to be very serious, there is too much truth in what I've said, and it's a real truth. Several times we have been obliged to contend for a joint of meat."

In the spring of 1778, Solomon Davis thought well to be inoculated for smallpox, and Catherine suggested that Brother John should come to Boston to share his discomforts and immunities. So this, even without the reference to the French alliance, would pretty clearly be the year of a letter dated only May 10th: "I saw Mr. and Mrs. Quincy were come to town to receive some money; but that article being scarce here they could not get it, so I was obliged to put up with a promise of having it soon. I wish you had had the smallpox. Mr. Davis longs to see you, as does myself. It was very unfortunate I could not have got that letter [from] you. It would have gratified me exceedingly to have you under our roof and my care . . . I want to know what you think of our new alliance. That empire you saw rising in America comes with all the new fashions out of France. The fear of an establishment of the Popish religion among us was very alarming in the commencement of our disputes; but, thank Heaven, there can be no danger now. The taxes of Great Britian were insupportable, but owing to the wise interposition of our own legislators we are now taxed only once

in three months. You'll think I've got over my anxiety [about Mr. Davis's inoculation] since I begin to touch again on politics, but this [is] only an interval, I assure you.—But company just come in obliges me to throw aside my pen."

A fortnight later Brother John's nephew, Edward Davis, about to sail for the West Indies, wrote him as follows concerning Brother Ned's state of mind: "I sent you a letter which I received from my Uncle Edmund since I returned. [I] am afraid to show it to my parents, as he is very angry with those who consented to their marriage, but gives me a strict charge of showing it upon pain of never seeing him again . . . I should rather choose you would write about it before I show mine, as it is very severe—indeed so much so [that] I am afraid it will be attended with bad consequences. It's very unfortunate coming just at this time, when my father [is] under inoculation; and his family is unhappy for fear of its being unfavorable, but—thank God—he is in a fair way of recovery . . . In my letter he bids her adieu forever, and never looks upon her as a sister again. [I] must entreat your writing as soon as may be, as I wish for your advice in this disagreeable affair." It looks as if Brother Ned, whose personal morals were not austere, found himself—temporarily prosperous at Antigua—in unexpectedly stern accord with the marital principles of the Church of England, always the dominant religious body in the British West Indies.

What came of all this does not appear. The relation between Brother John and the Davises stayed very cordial. About the time of his announced engagement to Dorothy Sherburne his daughter Betsy, then eighteen years old, went to visit them in Boston; her aunt found her to need both clothes and education. Apparently the visit lasted until after Brother John's wedding, in August; for in a rather bantering letter shortly before that ceremony Aunt Catherine writes: "Betsy says her Aunt Davis is

cross. She does me justice." Poor Betsy, by the way, appears never to have enjoyed such clothes or such education as might have been wished. She ultimately married a Mr. Berry, of Rye, in New Hampshire, and there slowly fades from record.

She was still, or again, in Boston, though, as late as July, 1779, about a year after her father's marriage, when Solomon Davis writes that she is "heartily welcome while at my house." Meanwhile there are traces of many business relations between the brothers-in-law. These indicate both more commercial activity than might have been expected during the Revolutionary war and the persistence of correspondence with old commercial friends in England through France and Holland. At one time Brother John meant to despatch his son Daniel to Nantes, where the youth might serve as a means of communication with England; but whether the boy, who is reported as of engaging address, ever went abroad does not appear. He died, anyhow, early in 1780, not yet quite twenty years old. In the previous August, Solomon Davis had written brother John that a prize had just brought in some Jamaica sugar, which would thereupon cheapen; and that, as for himself, he would take no commission on any supplies bought for Brother John's family. Of Catherine herself there is no direct trace in 1779.

Her only remaining letter of 1780, written in March, concerns her nephew Daniel's death. "He had won my affections greatly," she writes. "The whole family were pleased with him on his late visit to us. I held him up as a pattern to ours—of sweetness and affability." She thereupon falls into verse, which contains no line such as redeemed her effusion concerning his mother's death eight years before. "May his virtues," she goes on, "still live in the soul of my young cousins." Ned Davis, away on a voyage, has been reported ill. As for Brother Ned, in Antigua, the clouds seem to have cleared, for she has just received intelligence from him, "who is very well and

lives very grand. . . . Pray present my love to sister Wendell, to whom I am at a loss to dictate a letter since my omission on a proper subject." (Sister Wendell had been brought to bed of the first of her eight children some two or three weeks before Daniel died) "I wish her happy in all her vicissitudes, and am sorry her joys are so soon turned into mourning. My love to Sally, Johnny, Betsy and the younger ones. May they live and be happy." Before this was despatched she had more news from Portsmouth, where Sister Wendell was ill; so she adds a postscript, four days later: "May we soon hear of her speedy recovery. [We] have not yet heard from Neddy [Davis]. I dread to hear. He is our greatest concern at present. May the frown of Heaven withdraw from you and yours with the returning spring."

There are two more glimpses of her, and her surroundings, though, in this same year 1780. The first is in a letter from Uncle Edmund Quincy, written toward the end of July; the good old gentleman had then reached the age of seventy-seven. Brother John had seemingly been on a visit to Boston. "I hope," writes Uncle Edmund from Cambridge, "this will meet your safe return home, and that you found your spouse in good health, with your children. The elder of whom, my agreeable grand-niece Sally, I had the pleasure of conducting hither Saturday last. [I] take this opportunity of felicitating you upon the kind and valuable gift bestowed on you and yours in such a daughter and sister; and it is my devout wish that the blessing may be continued, whether in a single or more connected state. You're sensible this is not a compliment: such things are out of my line. Your daughter tells me she goes tomorrow or next day to Marblehead with her aunt, and thence for Portsmouth. I wish her a safe and good journey, having charged her with my best respects to you and her Mamma, as she is styled." This Sally, I may add, then twenty-six years old, stayed unmarried four years more.

She then married Edward Sargent, a Portsmouth shipmaster; and some time later Elbridge Gerry wrote pleasantly of them both, who had visited him at Elmwood. But they seem by and by to have come to financial grief; and if they had children no trace of the family remains.

So Catherine must have seen Brother John and his agreeable daughter in July. Early in the autumn comes a real glimpse of her. Dorothy Sherburne, Brother John's second wife, had a brother Jonathan, six years her junior. Both their father and their grandfather had been members of His Majesty's Council, in New Hampshire. He took his degree at Dartmouth College, studied medicine, served as a Naval surgeon during the Revolution, and at his best had unusual literary faculty. His later life, however, was regrettable. He was financially irresponsible, he was increasingly given to drink, he made an imprudent marriage at the age of thirty or so, and when he died at eighty-nine, he had for years been literally a pauper. At twenty-six, however, in September, 1780, he was probably both presentable and entertaining; and he wrote from Boston as follows: "I have only time to inform you that after an agreeable journey I am safely housed in Boston. My reception by Mr. Davis and family was truly agreeable, and I assure you I am extremely happy under so hospitable a roof, where I experience every civility necessary to my happiness during my stay here. Mrs. Davis I was most agreeably disappointed in, having formed no particular idea of her before my arrival. I find her the most agreeable lady I ever knew, for her open and sincere disposition, her mind adorned with the most refined sentiments, and a heart replete with the noblest impressions of friendship, benevolence, sympathy and compassion. Perhaps you may admire my partiality, and the giving [of] my opinion so soon. I never knew my discernment to fail me, and my opinion once formed [is] ever after the same.—Ever since I have

been here I have been exercised with a very severe cold, and am this moment exceedingly indisposed, which may continually keep me under particular obligations to Mrs. Davis's and [her] family's benevolence. Mrs. Davis's love is not that of an indifferent friend but of an indulgent parent.—I spend my time very agreeably. Miss Betsy has a troublesome thumb, otherwise is well."

In 1781, there is no direct trace of Catherine beyond the beginning of an account with Brother John, which ran on for eight years, ending with a balance of £65.0.0 in his favor, for which he magnificently claimed no interest. One or two letters, however, touch on her surroundings. Among her near kinsfolk the most eminent were than the John Hancocks, with whom she was evidently on intimate terms. And on the 23rd of October, her husband wrote Brother John, in Portsmouth, as follows: "Governor Hancock mentioned to me that he had met with some difficulty about taxes of his lands in your government. He wished to get some gentleman to have the care of them. I mentioned that you had the care of Mr. Inman's lands, and that I knew no man more capable than yourself. I suppose he will write you by this opportunity. I wish you to do all in your power to serve him." Sure enough, Hancock duly wrote at the same time; and a considerable correspondence seems to have ensued. The relics of it among Brother John's papers, however, were long ago reduced to a rather large folder marked "Governor Hancock's Letters," and two stray letters, both of which excuse brevity on the ground of indisposition—apparently gout.

This episode suggests one or two comments. For years by that time, Brother John had been much concerned with the settlement of lands in New Hampshire and Vermont just as he had been with his own lands at Granville in Massachusetts, concerning

which he had recurrent dealings with shrewd Timothy Robinson, now and then a member of the General Court. Brother John sometimes acted for himself in these matters, but oftener as agent for other non-resident proprietors. The settlers in such remote regions presently organized town governments, taxed all lands within their town limits, and whenever they could manage to do so sold to themselves for the taxes lands belonging to non-residents. Whence arose manifold complications of title. This general state of affairs mixed up the claims of Hancock among others. But, to proceed, Hancock himself though politically and socially eminent, was thought slippery when it came to business. Among other details, he was made Treasurer of Harvard College in 1773 and held the office for four years. When his successor, Ebenezer Storer, tried to get the College account books from Hancock, he is said to have been met only with polite statements that such details could not properly be called for from a gentleman; and, in point of fact, the books were not found until they turned up in Hancock's private stable, after his death, in 1793. Such, at least, is the current story, sometimes supplemented by the never proved statement that at least on this occasion the eminent Boston patriot was little better than a defaulter. So the chances are that Brother John's dealings with him concerning New Hampshire lands repeatedly sold for taxes were not cloudlessly happy.

Hancock's letter of May 22nd, 1782, is here to the point. "I have only strength," it runs, "to acknowledge receipt of your several letters, and to thank you for your very great readiness to serve me; and in return command any services in my power. By flattering myself that I had far more recovered my health than I found by experience was the case, I exerted myself to too great a degree, and have taken such cold as to give me such a nervous pain in my head as has confined me to my chamber unfit for business

for several days past. But it seems now abating, and I am in hopes, if this prove an agreeable night of rest, I shall be current tomorrow; in which case I will perfect a power of attorney and reply to the particulars in your several letters, and immediately transmit them to you. In the meantime please to act for me as for yourself. You will soon hear from me. My best compliments, with Mrs. Hancock's, to you and family conclude me, Dear Sir, your obliged humble servant."

It is fair to add that later in the same year Hancock paid fifteen pounds to Sister Davis, in recognition of Brother John's order on their account. In November she wrote concerning this matter; "You do the Governor injustice, my dear Brother. He has not been able to hold a pen since I've been from Portsmouth. He desired me to inform you he approved your conduct, and whatever you were in advance he is willing to refund. He could write you no more if he had his hands. He had paid me the £15.0.0. which I've credited on the back of the note.—Do ask Betsy how the cap goes on. I have bragged much of her performance [and] wish to exhibit it . . . I wished to have shown the Colonel [whoever he may have been] every civility, but his frequent engagements have denied me the pleasure. I am sorry Boston so ill agrees with his health."

So the Patriot Governor fades out of the letters. At last peace was in sight, which turned Brother John's attention to his father's insolvent estate, still unsettled after one and twenty years, the intervening Revolution, and the Lord knows what fluctuation in the value of money and lands. The personal effects of the convivial parent seem to have been divided long ago, and duly charged to one or another of his numerous family. These accounts appear to have somewhat annoyed Catherine, who thus wrote of them in May, 1783: "In the first place, the silver porringer my sister had was my sister's by right. We all had one, with our names on them. She left hers till father's

death, as she had some of Mr. Davis's to use. I cannot think, my dear, in any justice he ought to pay for his own. The salts I admit were not, and therefore due; but Mr. Davis will dispose of them, I believe, and pay for them without you choose to take them. And as to my mother's picture and Grandfather Quincy's, I never knew they were to be paid for, nor could I ever [have] thought such a thing could be approved; but if it is to be paid for they must be sold to pay the money. I believe, my dear brother, it is the first instance [when] family pictures were ever sold.—" Incidentally, her mother's picture—the mate of the picture of Judge Quincy's other daughter Mrs. Edward Jackson, celebrated by Dr. Holmes as "Dorothy Q."—ultimately went to descendants of Brother Tom or sister Skinner; but what became of this particular replica of Smybert's portrait of Judge Quincy has been forgotten. In justice to Brother John, it is fair to add that, some twenty years before, certain portraits of his Wendell grandparents and of his Flynt ancestors—all trace of which has long been lost—had been duly appraised in the inventory of his father's estate. The details about the estate on which Catherine has touched, she adds, trouble Mr. Davis, who grows old. "His spirits are so much broke with his own and his children's misfortunes [that] I forbear giving him the least inquietude, lest nature should pay the price for it." So, without the old man's knowledge, she has privately borrowed money. "It behooves me to use all my weak endeavors to preserve that life which seems devoted to me and my happiness. I may with truth say [that] few women are blest with such a husband . . . I have heard from Brother Ned; he is like to recover by the use of the baths at Bristol." Some stray letters from England, at about this time, show that Brother Ned, whose grand living at Antigua had resulted in crippling gout, had betaken himself to the mother country and resorted for treatment, and probably for social distractions, to Bath, still a fashionable watering-place.

In October, things with Mr. Davis were no better. "He is so harried," she writes, "and his spirits so depressed, that I daily observe it affects his memory, though I choose not to let him know I notice it. I beg you would take no notice of it in any letters to him or me, as it may give him pain. My sole study is to make his few remains of life as happy and comfortable as I can, though that is but little. The weight of troubles overbalances all my efforts. . . . As to the porringer, you are certainly mistaken about [it] as we have but three in the house—one marked 'E. W. from Father', [the first Mrs. Davis was named Elizabeth Wendell,] one Mr. Davis's mother gave Solomon, and one we had from England with some other plate. If Sister Davis had taken any other than her own, it must have been here, for we have never parted with any plate—excepting a can—since she died, and I am certain none before." She goes on to resent the charges against her and her sister Sally, now Mrs. Gerry, for mourning at their father's funeral, in 1762, when they were minors. She is worried about money matters, and thinks of attempting business herself, to help Mr. Davis.

A fortnight later, she inquires about Granville lands, said to have been sold by Brother John without due authority from Brother Ned, whose affairs are in charge of harried old Solomon Davis. "I hear," she adds, "you have been to Salem. Sister Skinner, [Sister] Gerry and myself think it unkind you called to see none of us when so near."

In 1784, the only trace of her is a letter written early in March. "Are you so absorbed in farming," she begins, "as to forget your connections, or are you writing the history of our rising empire; or [are] all your faculties frozen up with the inclemency of the season?" After all, she adds, it is the same with all her brothers and sisters; she is "the only one left in our native spot." Cousin Sewall has written his father that Brother Ned "has met with great success

in a restorative medicine for the gout," and is about to embark again for Antigua. As for Brother Ned, himself, though he writes Mr. Davis on business, he won't answer her letters. "Sister Skinner," she goes on, "is in trouble by Tom Gerry's persecution and provocation." (Tom Gerry, a brother of Elbridge Gerry, had married Richard Skinner's sister Tabitha.) "She is obliged to quit her house; the family is like to be broke up. I hear Uncle Josiah Quincy was buried last night [at Braintree.] What is become of Mr. Davis's Co-horse or Co-something lands?"

In April, 1785, more than a year later, things looked rather less dismal. Brother John's second wife had just presented him with the fourth of her eight children; and his first wife, we may remember, had left surviving her, in 1772, seven out of her eleven. Childless at forty-three, and thus safe from at least one source of anxiety, Catherine wrote her brother as follows: "I congratulate you and my sister on her being safe abed. But pray let me ask you if you intend keeping up this fun? Why, you must build a large castle to contain your children. If you go on at this rate, you'll have as long a train of children and grandchildren at your funeral as an old gentleman mentioned in some of our late papers. Sally, I find, [his eldest daughter, by that time thirty-one years old] is setting out to follow your example. My love to her.—I have had an affectionate letter from Brother Ned. He had intended to come in the vessel; [he] has recovered so far as to be able to ride on horse-back; his business prevented, but [he] intends coming as soon as possible. . . . Mr. Davis is got into his spring dejection; [he] has been nicely young and in good spirits all winter, but is low now as possible. Betsy, [his daughter] is to be married soon." Betsy Davis married Dr. David Townsend, of Boston, who had graduated at Harvard in 1770.

In 1786, there is no direct trace of Catherine. Two letters in the autumn from her step-son, Edward

Davis, to Brother John imply, however, a little trouble. In October the nephew wrote his uncle, rather abruptly, requesting that he procure and forward to Boston a copy of some deed, recorded at Portsmouth, in which young Davis had a personal interest. Brother John, whose business habits were leisurely, had not attended to this matter by the 12th of November, when his nephew wrote him again, in such terms that the uncle endorsed the missive as "Ned Davis's impudent letter." Which does not look precisely serene.

There is little direct trace of her, either, during the next year, 1787. In November, however, Nathaniel Appleton wrote Brother John from Boston that he had so arranged a transaction concerning lands as to be able to pay Mr. Davis nine pounds, and to forward Brother John £11.7.4. This agreeable incident seems to have been unusual; or else the letters concerning favorable turns of business are all lost. Earlier in the year, too, Elbridge Gerry had written from Philadelphia a letter which details matters as interesting to Catherine as they were to Brother John. Their youngest sister, Sarah, had married Gerry's brother, John, who had died in 1786; and, with what Brother John had thought unseemly haste, she had proceeded to marry Captain Fiske, of Salem. Elbridge Gerry's defense of his sister-in-law runs thus: "I am very sorry to hear you are at variance with Mrs. Fiske. My candid opinion is that she acted wisely and judiciously, and I assure you she consulted me as her confidential friend. The fact is Mrs. Fiske did not want to form an early connection, knowing that all the friends of her late husband would be very much hurt, and that her own reputation would be affected by the measure. But as soon as it was known that Captain Fiske gave her the preference, the friends of a lady whom it was supposed he would have courted, urged him to push his suit to Mrs. Fiske, and in this way used every means in their power to break off the

match. She kept him at such a distance as to give him offense, and then they triumphingly said that he had left her and that her pride would be humbled. This was the language of a certain person who declared that he had intended to marry Mrs. Fiske, had she not treated him with such coolness when he hinted it to her before Captain Fiske made his advances. Thus, you see, your sister was reduced to this dilemma: either to accept Captain Fiske earlier by far than she or her friends thought decent, or by refusing him to see him form a connection with another lady, and all *her* friends triumphing in the success of their manoeuvres. She asked my advice, and knowing all the circumstances I did not hesitate to give it in favor of her accepting the offer. Indeed, after this I was under the necessity of writing a letter to Captain Fiske, to counteract the plans adopted against Mrs. Fiske. Thus I think you will see she was not culpable . . . This information you will consider as confidential, and intended to restore your affection for a deserving sister." What Catherine Davis thought about all this does not appear. Clearly, though, she must have thought about it a good deal.

In November she wrote Brother John, with a very bad pen. Brother Ned had sent from Antigua a present of tamarinds and oranges, some for Brother John, which had mostly spilt on the way. And Betsy (Mrs. Townsend) had lost a fine child.

The next year, 1788, reveals her more clearly again. On the 28th of January, after recurring to Brother Ned's oranges, she goes on: "This day is the anniversary of my birth, 46 years ago. My worthy parents gave birth to an insignificant creature. It being a day of reflection, I could not but contemplate the divine goodness in thus making me a monument of His sparing mercy, when I have so often provoked Him to cut me off as an encumb[rance] or as an unprofitable servant. I am easily mortified, my dear, when I reflect I have lived forty-six years in

the world and done no more good in it. May Heaven grant me wisdom and ability to devote my short remains to His more immediate service, is my fervent prayer.—Here I am sitting in my corner feeling as old as Sarah, and my Abraham is flying about making punch, and as full of spirit as the bottle he is now pouring out of.—You will laugh as this medley of a letter, but it accords with my feelings, so you must take it as it rises, and throw a veil of brotherly kindness over all its imperfections. As to its incoherence, you must impute [that] to old age. Sisters Skinner and Fiske have both been sick; all three of us confined together. As to news now, the Federal Constitution”—But what she thought of this we shall never know, for just here the bottom of her page is torn off and lost.

About a month later she writes again. Brother John seems to have been doubtful whether he had duly received all that Brother Ned had sent him. “In respect to the rum,” she says, “Neddy only sent a few quart bottles to Mr. Davis.” There is word, however, of a whole barrel, now presumably at sea, intended for Brother John. “The oranges had [al]most all got defective. I believe they were touched with the frost, but they have served to do much good among the sick. Mr. Davis, as he hates writing worse than ever, and as it gives him a dizziness in the head, wishes me to answer your letter for him. In respect to your proposal he says he can’t afford to touch upon law. He thinks this a dubious case and would not choose to engage in it.” (Apparently it concerned title to lands originally belonging to Judge Quincy, who had now lain for fifty years in his unmarked London grave.) “If you incline to try for it, and recover it, he will accept your terms . . . Sister Skinner [has] been sick all winter, but I dare say she will agree with us . . . You can write her upon it.”

Her next extant letter was written in August. Uncle Edmund Quincy had lately died at the age of

eighty-five. For nearly forty years he had frequently written to his nephew at Portsmouth. His letters imply him to have been a man of considerable accomplishment, high principle both public and private as well as religious, and active though not very powerful mind. In person he was thin and rather agile, long toothless, and prominent both of nose and of chin; and during his later years he was irreverently described in Boston as "old Daddy Quincy." Catherine's letter touches on his end.—"Uncle Quincy mentioned to me your not answering his letters three days before he died. I was much with him, and marked the upright man, for his end was peace. Though he did not think he should die, he was ready and willing. We grow so plaguy poor that we must begin to look out for what right we have in this world. Perhaps you will retort upon us to look our for our right in another. True, O King; I think that's most essential; but Solomon says there is a time for all things, and both are necessary. Your quotation is there is a time to get. I believe [you] for you keep getting and I believe will as long as Abram. I read the Major your letter wherein you say Uncle Quincy is gone to Father Abram's bosom. He desires I would tell you he believes that his bosom has been full long ago, and you nor he must not expect a chance on it . . . My love to Sister Wendell. Tell her [if] I were she I would run away from such an old creature without he would discard some of his love of the flesh. The flies plague me so I can write no more; so you must take this as your wife took you—for better or worse."

In November she was more troubled. "Our worthy Sister Skinner," she writes, "is very ill and in miserable circumstances. Her two sons are at sea, John is married, and Dolly has a young family and [is] not able to do for her as she needs. Judge Wendell has obliged her to quit her house, She has taken a small chamber in the house where Dolly lives. Her spirits are broke, and I am afraid [she] will soon fall a martyr

to affliction. She has ever been a child of affliction since she connected herself with Mr. Skinner; but as he is no more I desire to be silent. I shall write to Neddy [at Antigua] this week; he has a vessel here; he means to come in the spring himself. I have wrote to Sally. [Mrs. Fiske, at Salem.] We must try, my dear, to do something for our dear sister . . . This winter we are not able to do all ourselves, or I should not ask anyone. I am much disturbed about her. I hope I shall go down [to Marblehead, where poor Sister Skinner lay ill] tomorrow; I mean to. My whole soul seems harrowed up with perplexities.— I find age rapidly increases on my dearer self. He tries to his utmost to provide for his family, which is a hard task at his late period; but he has his health, thanks to the all merciful God, and so have I. This I prize as an inestimable blessing [which] demands my highest gratitude; but when age bows the head, we have no right to look for death at our elbows. I pray Heaven this may meet you all as your last favor left you—a customer to the butcher instead of the doctor.”

In 1789, there are only two letters from her. The first, in March, touches on business matters, tells that she has found a paper in the handwriting of her father, dead twenty-seven years before, relinquishing to all his children, “from Sister Davis to Tommy, [that is, from oldest to youngest by name] all rights in Granville granted by Grandfather Quincy to mother;” and so on. “You’ll see,” she adds, “by the papers that Colonel Fiske has met with a theft. We are all well, also Betsy’s family. I really wish, my dear brother, you would show us your face once more and bring your wife. I see no fun in forever staying at home begetting, bringing and training up. Novelty is the life of pleasure.” On the same day she wrote a letter on business for her husband, and scribbled at the bottom: “You see I am secretary, C. D.”

Her other letter, written at night, early in June, is less buoyant. Brother Ned, then fifty-four years old,

has arrived from Antigua; "He is a poor, shattered, unhappy man. He requires all my attention and art to keep him tolerably happy. His intellectual parts are much weakened as well as his body. He wants to, see you all, but is unable to undertake the fatigues of another journey yet. He only rode today as far as Cambridge, and is so overcome with it [that] I was obliged to send for a doctor, more to compose his mind than to relieve his body. I sometimes fear he is come to mingle his clay with his parents'. I am obliged to be all cheerfulness with him, when my heart aches for him. The reason, I find by his servant, he has not wrote you lately is [that] he was unequal to it. Should you indulge us with a visit to him, you must be cautious, and not see him suddenly. I should have wrote you, my dear, before, but my eyes and cares conspire to deny me that pleasure. I have not wrote Sisters Skinner and Fiske, nor has he seen them yet. I dread the scene, for he was so afflicted seeing me I thought he would [have] had a fit. I will save [my] eyes, and retire to my old gentleman, who is well, thank God. I am keeping the servants up."

There is little trace of her in 1790—only a hasty half page, dashed off one September Sunday at two in the afternoon, reporting Sister Skinner "with us and well," and enclosing for "perusal" a letter from Brother Ned, who had evidently managed to get back to Antigua, whence, to all appearances, he never emerged again.

The next year, 1791, reveals her more clearly. In February she writes that she has been thrown out of a sleigh; "I've been but a useless piece of furniture for some time. Sister Skinner has been very bad—not like to live. I went to see her, unable as I was, as she wished to see me. It hurt me to be obliged to leave her, but I could not stay. We endeavored among us to supply her with comforts. Her friends were all extremely kind, and—thank God—I hear she is getting better fast. She had a lung fever, and is in

a very uncomfortable room, poor creature. She is the daughter of misfortune, but bears it with Christian fortitude." It is perhaps fair to add that Sister Skinner survived them all, dying in 1822, at the age of eighty-nine.

After that, we hear no more of Catherine until the 11th of June, when both she and Mr. Davis were perplexed about the accounts and charges of the still unsettled estate of her father, by that time twenty-nine years dead. This is almost the last we hear of poor old Mr. Davis in this world. His end came without warning. One evening that same June, he went alone to sup with Governor Hancock. His wife was detained at home by a letter from "my dear William, [apparently a sea-faring son of Mr. Davis, who wrote from Antigua,] with particulars of his melancholy disaster, and the death of two of Neddy's family, one a natural son of his." Freed from conjugal observation, Mr. Davis appears to have supped imprudently; what he drank is not mentioned, but he ate more plum-cake and fruit than was good for him. On his way home, he was seized with a fit in the street. Carried to his house, and there helped by the doctor, he so far recovered himself as to go cheerfully up stairs; but once in his chamber he was again overcome by sickness, and instantly expired. "I can only say," she writes, "[that] in him I have lost a friend, a lover, and a husband. May I be prepared to meet him in a blessed eternity, where I hope he is." His estate proved hopelessly insolvent. "I am now thrown upon the world to rest my head. I trust God will enable me to do it, by giving me strength according to my day If I could get a house and be settled this fall, it would be a relief to me not to be enforced to be turned out in winter. But may I be resigned to God's will in all things."

Two months later, she writes: "I more and more miss my cheerful and agreeable companion. I can truly say I now see the days when there is no pleasure

in them. Sister Skinner left me two days past to attend the last remains of Mrs. Gerry—Tabby Skinner that was. They have put her into mourning, and she thinks in gratitude she must stay with them till next week, when she will return to stay with me for the present. She intends writing you respecting your proposals, but she is too much broke to engage in any undertaking." So, apparently, Brother John was still in trouble concerning his father's estate. He was on such terms with his brother-in-law, "the Hon. John Fiske, Esq. of Salem," however, that at about this time he settled some claims of this gentleman by transferring to him certain drafts on correspondents in England. Whether these were paid does not definitely appear; one or two faint indications inspire fear that they may not have been.

In November Catherine was settled for the winter. Her stepsons Edward and William Davis had both got home from sea. She is anxious that Brother John shall send her precise statements of any land claims she may have. "Sister Skinner," she goes on, "spends the winter with me. Her health is very much impaired by her sufferings and I trust God will enable me to make her more comfortable than she was the two last winters. Her children have all wives now, and a man is commanded to leave father and mother for a wife, and most children are very willing to comply with such a pleasing command, especially where there is no expectation, and she—poor soul—has not a shilling but the bounty of her friends. My sons are very good to her, and do more for her than ever they did for me; but inasmuch as they do it for her, they show that respect to me and to their own mother that I love them for it. I don't mean to complain of them. They show me every respect, and we have all lived six weeks past in the strictest harmony together. While I am able to get my bread, I am willing to spare no pains. It is my allotment, and I hope ever to be

content with it. My daughter Betsy" (Mrs. Townsend) "has been very dangerously ill, and I fear will never be really well again; but, thanks to God, she is better."

The next year, 1792, was troublous. Through a good part of it she was still living in Mr. Davis's house in Tremont Street, but too poor to keep it. Her first extant letter was written in February, and there dated. It repeats old questions about shadowy titles to lands. "Isaac," it goes on, "has had a fit of the gout—his grandfather's legacy, he calls it." [The Wendells had a gouty strain through another century.] "I was most alarmed last week by a fire in the neighborhood. I packed up my goods and chattels, but was mercifully spared the removal of them."

In April, she writes, still from Tremont Street, that she is glad to hear of Brother John's decision not to move into the country, "as I think [town] must be more agreeable to Sister Wendell and the children—minds formed for social life. I think the country is dismal." She goes on to tell of her cousin, Aunt Dennie's son, who, "goes to sea, . . . is a worthy young man, has been unfortunate in having a sick family, and unsuccessful in business, but [is] very industrious and drives the nail that will go. This is character." She proceeds to touch on details, evidently connected with the never settled accounts of her father's estate, now thirty years dead. One Mrs. Kennedy says that "the glass was destroyed with her furniture in the time of the war. She is an old woman, and supports herself only by day labor, from a few charitable families that employ her from no other motive. I don't think it in her power to pay you." Then follows something about gloves—apparently those bought for her father's funeral, thirty years before. "I am sorry, my dear," she continues, "if by any stroke of my pen or conduct, I should give you or any one of my connections or friends the least pain. I feel too much myself to wound others. . . .

My dear deceased knew he ought to pay all his debts, and was honestly disposed to do it, were it in his power. That was the only affliction he had on earth, and I shall ever think was accessory to his death. But I must waive the subject; it's too much for me to dwell on . . . Sister Skinner has gone hence on a visit . . . What shall I do with father's books and papers? Shall I send them by Huntress?"

A month later, she writes: "Our dear brother Edmund departed this life [at Antigua] the 2nd of March, very suddenly. In him I have lost a most affectionate and attentive brother, who has shown me every attention that absence admitted of ever since the death of my dearer self." His last letters had asked her to come and live with him, it seems. "My house is sold," she goes on, "Captain Edward Davis has bought it. I remove as soon as I can get one. I can say no more. My full heart obstructs my sight."

Two letters in December, seven months later, give glimpses of her again. She has engaged in some business by that time: "I find I must work while the day lasts. I have no one to help me, and am growing older every day; and should I neglect making some provision for old age—should it please God to bring me to it—I have no other prospect than the Al[ms-house.] Sister Skinner is in need; every trifle helps clothe her. I expect to move in the spring . . . I wish to know if I may not send father's books and papers. I don't know what to do with them."

Only two days afterwards, she writes another request for clear statement of any land claims she may have. "The breaking up of my house and family," she goes on, "and the difficulty of getting a house is constantly upon my mind. But I won't burden you or any of my friends with my inquietude. I only wish that you would answer this as soon as possible, relative to the land, and accept and present Sister Skinner's and my love to every member of your family."

The only trace of her in 1793 is a letter written in

January, little more than a month after that on which we have just touched. "Surely," she writes, "the fates have conspired to tease me in the settlement of the estate, which I am heartily tired of and wish myself clear of. It has occasioned me so much knowledge of mankind that I am fully convinced that the most predominant principle of the human heart is self-interest. The books and papers have at last been sent by Mr. Sherburne." (Incidentally a few relics of them are still in the hands of Brother John's descendants) "My spirits," she concludes, "are rather depressed, and have been for some time. I will not burden my friends when I cannot entertain them."

In 1794, there are two glimpses of her. The first is a hasty letter, written in March. Members of Brother John's family passing through Boston have not found leisure to call on her. Sister Skinner is going to visit a daughter in Newburyport. Has Brother John ever heard from Brother Ned's widow? As for herself—Catherine—her eyes grow weak. The second is a letter from Sister Skinner, whose command of the pen, for all that she once tried to teach school, by no means approached Catherine's. In August, she wrote from Newburyport that Sister Davis had been very unwell, and like to die. As for the Skinners, Dick is about to sail on a long voyage, and Dolly is much as she was. The letter closes with an expression of regret, probably not shared by Brother John, that Sister Skinner cannot manage to pay him a visit.

By March, 1795, Catherine was living in Cambridge Street, and Sister Skinner still, or again, visiting at Newburyport. Poor Catherine, surprised by an unexpected debt, is "almost broken in spirit," and longs for the company of even forlorn Sister Skinner. But, "I a'n't so selfish as to wish her not to enjoy herself, and therefore shall endeavor to be patient till she inclines to come." A month or so later, "Sister Skinner wrote me she received the money. I shall

endorse it on your note. I hope if she comes to see you it will be soon, as I long to see her . . . I often compare her to the sow you tell of that must be pulled by the ears to the trough and by the tail back again; for she will not exert herself, though—poor creature—she has had enough to fix her as a statue . . . Brother Ned's estate, I am informed, won't pay four-pence on a pound. She [doubtless Brother Ned's widow at Antigua] is very dejected."

In 1796, we do not hear from her until September. Then she writes Brother John, from Cambridge Street, a letter of condolence on the death of the youngest, and last, of his nineteen children. A fine child of Isaac Davis, her step-son, she says, has just been buried from her house: "But I consider all children," she continues, "which are taken away, as only going from their earthly parents to be blessed in their heavenly parents' arms; and while their earthly parents are grovelling [in] the throes of the flesh and sin, their little purified spirits are hovering around, and look down with pity on those that gave them birth, that they still have to combat with the vicissitudes of this mortal state . . . Sally and Mr. Sargent [Brother John's eldest daughter and her husband] have passed the day with us. She appears to be very happy and has afforded us much pleasure. I sent for your son George but could not find him." A long postscript follows, much of which has been deliberately blotted out by Brother John. It seems to have concerned senile anger, on the part of the Honorable John Fiske, now styled General, with Brother John, by reason of disputes concerning land-claims owned by the shadowy and insolvent estate of the elder John Wendell, thirty-four years dead. The General's state of mind had involved more or less trouble for Sister Fiske.

So here or hereabouts seems to belong the undated draft of a long letter from Brother John to Dr. David Townsend, now for some years married to Betsy

Davis. "After my affectionate regards to yourself, Mrs. Townsend and [your] children give me leave to address a line to you as a gentleman of unbiassed principles; and as it comes from one who upon the verge of the grave [Brother John had reached the age of sixty-five] and expects to be accountable to God and his conscience, I hope it may have a weight at least in your mind, to convince you of the sincerity of my assertions. I have heard several times that it has been said by some of the children of my sisters that I have received and spent what was their parents'; . . . and many other things as false as God is true. If any one sister or their children will inform me of one single brass farthing that ever I received or disposed of which belonged to them any ways, By Heavens, I will give them a guinea for a copper." He goes on to detail certain legal proceedings, which have proved fruitless. "I lost," he adds, "£100.0.0 by taking administration on my father's estate, instead of getting anything. If these complainants will point out one single act of injustice which I have done to them, I will pay ten-fold their demands, so help me God! After such a solemn assertion, I hope they will make inquiries to satisfy themselves, without impeaching the rectitude of their kinsman." A long passage follows concerning the impudence of Edward Davis, which he so resents as to assert that none of his family "will eat his bread while they have any of their own.—I beg your pardon," he proceeds, "for giving you the trouble to read this letter, and you may wonder at my intrusion, as being . . . known to you only by some of these gross falsehoods. I have a sincere and respectful regard to my niece, your lady, whose deportment to me and my family has ever been genteel and polite, affectionate and dutiful; and it would give me pleasure to see you and her here, with some of your little folks, if your avocations would permit. . . [I] desire to let a gentleman of your discernment know that I challenge every connection in life to prove a single injustice that

ever I did to any of them. . . while I have the pleasure to recollect many acts of love and respect on my side. My love attends you and Betsy, and any branches of my family who remember that they once had an uncle by my name . . . I wish this letter may be read and known to any branches of my family who have felt themselves injured by me in thought, word or deed."

When this was written does not appear. In November, Catherine wrote Brother John a detailed account of how Sister Skinner, visiting her, had been seized with a fever. Charitable friends have helped. Sister Fiske has promised a little. Can't Brother John do something, too? The letter is brave and self-respecting; but one feels an undertone of something like despair.

What Brother John answered will never be known; but they got along somehow, for two letters from her in 1797 show no change in their relations. The first, hastily written in September, says that Judge Wendell—her father's cousin Oliver Wendell, grandfather of Dr. Holmes—thinks she has never sold her lands in Lenox, and asks Brother John what has become of them. These were probably a part of the thousand acres in Lenox bestowed by the General Court on the descendants of Judge Edmund Quincy when that worthy, representing the Province of Massachusetts Bay, succumbed to inoculation in London, fifty-nine years before. What became of them nobody now remembers. Her second letter, written in December, reveals her old self again. Brother John's son George, then twenty-six years old, has called on her. "I am much pleased," she writes, "with his frank, open and manly behavior. I should have known him only by the countenance of his Mamma which I think he has taken a large share of." She goes on to inquire again about the Lenox lands and to tell something of the confusion of the Davis estate. "I have walked out today," she continues, "for the first time in six weeks, though [I] still have a bad cough. Sister Skinner is

unwell with a cold. She is so young that she is very daring." (She was nine years older than Catherine, who was then about fifty-six.) "Poor I am a little wizened up old woman, as George I fancy will describe me. He acknowledges his disappointment in the ideas he had formed."

In 1798 there is no trace of her. Two letter of August in that year, however, touch on relations between Brother John and Sister Fiske of which she must have known. In 1780 we may remember, a promising son of Brother John, named Daniel, had died at the age of twenty. The next son born to him came into the world in 1783, and was given the same name. Though less carefully educated than the first Daniel, he seems to have been a youth of diligence and ability, who might have made good if exposure to cold in the course of attending to business had not prematurely ended his life, too, in 1807. At the age of fifteen he rather laboriously wrote to his Aunt Fiske, at Salem, as follows: "This day week my honored father, your brother, fell from his horse about a mile from here, and [it] was thought would not have survived the fall. But being attended by three doctors they found no bones broken, only his thigh to be bruised, and all its tendons and muscles so hurt that he will not be able to walk for a long time. He has laid in his bed upon his back ever since, and cannot raise himself up. The doctors pronounce him out of danger. The great number of gentlemen who have come to see him has been rather injurious, but as friends they were all agreeable except one, who was a deputy sheriff with a writ from you this day, which grieved him to the heart, and really hurt him as well as mortified him to be so exposed as that his credit runs so low with you as to put it out of your hands, which he could have secured to your entire satisfaction." He proceeds to detail the transaction involved which concerned a friend of Aunt Fiske, Colonel Pickman, of Salem, who seems to have transferred to

her, claims against Brother John. "My father," he goes on, "wishes for no favor but what honor and justice may indulge him with, but grieves that he has lost the confidence of his sister. He wishes you to believe his affection for you forgives the injury, as not intended by you, but the wound will go with him to his grave as a lasting monument of the force of money. He joins my mother and the family in our cordial regards, and if he could have sat up would have wrote you himself."

To this letter Aunt Fiske replied ten days later on her return from a "tour into the country"—"The relation of the catastrophe which befel my brother," she writes, "claims my pity and excites in me painful sensations. But your reflections, as unjust as unmerited, I shall pass over unnoticed, only observing that, whatever effect you may suppose money may have on some, its fascinating charms are not sufficient to induce me to do an unjust or an ungenerous action. I wish not to recriminate, and will only state facts, and leave your better judgment to rectify your too hasty conclusions, and not again impute to the cruelty of your aunt [what] proceeded from the avarice of a lawyer." She goes on to state the case from Colonel Pickman's point of view, who acted as guardian for the son of her late husband, and whom she conceives to have been actuated by the "nicest rules of honour"—"I wish," she concludes, "not to add expenses to or in any degree wound the sensibility of your respected parent, notwithstanding your insinuation, but heartily sympathize with him in his misfortune and sincerely wish him the consolation I cannot give. You will present my kind remembrance to your parents and to the several branches of the family."

Evidently the "peace of family" which up to 1772 Uncle Edmund Quincy had found "the very singular character" of the Wendells was no longer more than formally prevalent.

In 1799, Brother John was sixty-eight years old. Of his nineteen children, eleven survived—the youngest a boy who had reached the age of eleven. The eldest son was forty-two. Named for his father, he appears to have been of more active intellect, and rather better educated than his younger brothers. His letters resemble those of a college-trained man. In point of fact, however, he never went to college, perhaps because the Revolution occurred at just about the time when he would regularly have done so; he was for a while in the employ of his uncle Joshua Wentworth, who thought him a bit flighty; he appears to have been the son of Brother John who, failing to get a commission on the *Ranger*, under John Paul Jones,—an intimate friend of the father,—went before the mast rather than not go at all; and after the Revolution, he showed considerable enterprise in business, meanwhile corresponding with friends in Congress on political matters as well as social. Why he never married does not appear; his reason may very likely have been that he was never in a position to support a wife and family in the station to which he felt himself entitled. Particularly after the first Daniel's death, however, he was his father's chief reliance. In the spring of 1799, he made a journey to New York, where he did something towards establishing a futile claim to property in what was already Broadway. This claim was characteristic of Brother John, who held more or less valid title to a great deal of landed property, but had very little ready money. So the old man could hardly have had a more crushing blow than the sudden death of this eldest son in August, 1799.

Among the letters which ensued on this bereavement, two are worth recording. One is the bill of Dr. Lyman Spaulding, the chief physician in Portsmouth, who charged two dollars for "5 visits and advice during his last sickness." The other is what Elbridge Gerry wrote from Cambridge: "I sincerely

condole with you and your family on the melancholy occasion which you allude to. There are events beyond our control, the dispensations of a supreme incomprehensible Being, but nevertheless distressing in a high degree, in consequence of those attachments and affections He has implanted in our minds. You have, however, the heartfelt satisfaction of having, on reflection, discharged the duty of a parent."

Catherine wrote characteristically: "I once viewed death with a great deal of horror; but whether it is from the many trials I have had to conflict with, that have weaned me from the world, or whether it is from a foolhardiness I cannot say, but I feel perfectly resigned to leaving it, and can contemplate death with great composure." She goes on to say that she has not seen Brother John for eighteen years. She touches on troubles he has had with his daughters, one of whom appears to have been disordered in mind, and another to have fallen in love with an undesirable suitor. Sister Skinner is away on a visit to Newbury, Salem, and Marblehead. And then references to land claims turn up. "I assure you, my dear, with my weak frame I find it tough work to rub along," she continues, "but I don't wish to complain." Living, it seems, costs £300.0.0 a year, and she already owes a thousand pounds. But Captain Sargent's bitters have done her good, and she would be glad to have another bottle.

In October, 1800, writing from Cambridge Street, she is something like her old self again. Brother John has had a fever; so has Sister Skinner, and so has she. "You must now remember," she writes, "[that] you are an old man. You must put off the deeds of the body; go thy way, and sin no more . . . You often say you are coming to see me. You put me in mind of the brace of pigeons the Irishman carried as a present, and let them fly from the basket; and when he delivered his letter, [and] the person told him he found in his letter the pigeons were sent, [he said]

he was glad they were found in the letter, as he had lost them by the way." It is twenty years, she continues, since she has seen Brother John. This letter goes by "my two best friends, Mr. and Mrs. Scott." (This Mrs. Scott was her double cousin, Dorothy Quincy, widow of John Hancock, who had found in a second marriage less brilliant but calmer joys than had attended her first.) "She is like a sister," Catherine goes on, "[and] he my father, friend and protector. I wish all my friends would love him for my sake. They will inform you [of] my situation better than I can write it." . . . Sister Skinner, she adds, is at Newbury. The fever has cost \$40.00 for the doctor and \$12.00 for the nurse, besides medicines. And she owes Captain Scott £500.0.0 which she hopes to pay.

There is only one more letter from her, a much torn sheet written in February, 1803. Evidently she had asked Brother John for money; and it is fair to say that although rich in lands he could seldom lay hand on cash even for his own household bills. As for Catherine, her long dauntless spirit is almost broken. "What, my dear brother, have I done," she writes, "to merit your alienation? Could our venerable parents make but one visit to their offspring, and see the change, methinks their very souls would melt at the prospect. I am sure mine soars up to the regions where I think they dwell, and longs to unite with them in their humble adoration to the God of mercy. When I take a retrospection of our juvenile years, and view the harmony and love that pervaded our peaceful mansion, and [then] take a present view, I am lost in astonishment, and almost fancy myself in a delirium . . . May poverty never assail your mansion, may the poignant sting of an indigent, dependent widow, never be the lot of the partner of your wealth, is the prayer of a sister that forcibly feels them both, and only begs that she may be endued with patience till the heavenly mandate shall summon her to her

eternal rest. I must own, my dear, that I have not philosophy sufficient to combat with the trials of poverty and the indifference of my nearest connections." She has a heavy cough, getting worse. "Our poor sister is at Newbury. God knows how it is with her. I hear she has lost her son Richard. I hope she will be supported through her many trials, and have a happy issue out of them. I congratulate you [on] the preservation in the late calamity by fire; also on the marriage of your daughter, [which, alas, proved luckless,] and the enjoyment of health which Mr. Sheafe informs me you possess. God grant you and yours every blessing. Accept and offer my love among them, from that sister who once flattered herself she was beloved by you."

It was probably in answer to this letter that Brother John drafted one to her, which may or may not have been copied and sent. "I am as ready to answer, my dear sister, your letters as I am to receive them, or you [are to] write me, and I challenge all the world to produce an instance of my ingratitude or want of affection where the cause originated with me . . . I have a very valuable estate in outlands, yet I am like Tantalus up to the chin in water, yet cannot drink. I have some thousands of dollars due me which I cannot collect without distressing my fellow men, and I am wading through an almost finished race without the pleasure of enjoyment. Happy should I have been if a kind providence had permitted me to have been the sole support of helpless sisters, but a very large and dependent family has called for thousands more than I have had to help them. But, thank God, through the knowledge that I have an independent real estate, no person is distressing me." He goes on, at great length, to detail the circumstances concerning family lands which he has been accused of appropriating, to point out that not a penny has come to him from these, but that they have involved losses; and incidentally to resent the fact that "Mrs. Han-

cock, now Mrs. Scott" (doubly his first cousin) had offered to send him "Mr. Davis's wig, after his death." The draft of this letter, on the whole senile and peevish, breaks off in the middle.

Two or three more letters concern Catherine, however. In April, 1804, her step-daughter, Mrs. Townsend, wrote a touching appeal to Brother John, whom she supposed affluent. "I have ventured, without her knowledge, to inform you of her real, unhappy situation. A woman at her time of life, beyond the years of sixty, accustomed in the early part of it to live handsome and genteel, and by her industry in the latter to be above dependence, is distressing to a degree. She was obliged to give up everything to her creditors and renounce business two years ago. Ever since, she has been with Aunt Fiske and myself, excepting some visits to Mrs. Scott. The death of her sister and the repeated troubles she has met with have so racked and debilitated her constitution that she is totally unable to undertake any business that can maintain her without the assistance of her friends

. . . Aunt Fiske has left her one hundred dollars, which without a home, and no other means to begin with, is small. . . . Were it in my power to place her in affluence I would with pleasure do it; but our house is very small, our family large and our business on the decline. She has seriously talked of offering herself as housekeeper to any genteel family, which from her ill health she is unable to undertake. Were she to do that . . . I know you would be mortified, not only as her brother but as a man of fortune and benevolence."

Now, so far as records can tell us, Brother John was really a man of benevolence; and believed himself potentially a man of fortune. But he was land-poor. He had never had money enough properly to educate his children. He was lavish in signing notes, which kept him in constant hot water. He believed his lands to be worth a hundred thousand pounds sterling;

and today they are, and more. But when he died, in 1808, and his insolvent estate was somehow wound up by his young colleague at the Portsmouth bar, Daniel Webster, the whole property realized only about fifteen thousand dollars. So the long letter which he instantly wrote back to Mrs. Townsend, detailing his business perplexities, is unquestionably true. He had been unable, for years, to meet his own current expenses; and, in uncomfortable circumstances, he had been accused of heartlessness in not helping poor relatives. This he had resented—particularly when not informed of his sister Fiske's death, nor invited to her funeral. "Your Aunt Wendell," he goes on, "who is one of the best women in the world, heartily grieves at every misfortune in our family, and would heartily join you in anything which would relieve my sister; but, poor woman, although she knows my great sufferings by paying money as bondsman, she knows not half my afflictions."

In brief, he is actually unable to do anything; but before long two of his sons-in-law, Captain Sargent and Captain Randall, are expected in the port of Boston. When they arrive, Mrs. Townsend may consult with them. "In the multitude of counsel there is safety, and something may be devised for my distressed sister."

Whether anything came of this proposed family council does not appear. A letter from Dr. David Townsend, written on Sunday afternoon, April 7th, 1805,—almost a year later—finishes the story: "This day, after a few days' more severe illness than she usually experienced for many years of distressful infirmity, your sister Mrs. Catherine Davis expired about one o'clock. It becomes my painful duty to give you this information, because Mrs. Townsend's distress on the occasion prevents her from giving you a more circumstantial account of the event."

She was buried, the only one of her family left in their native spot, in the tomb, in the Granary Burying

Ground, where her parents lay and her grandparents. This place of burial was piously cared for by Dr. Townsend, and now bears his name as well as that of Major John Wendell.

As for Brother John, who died three years later, he lies in a large tumulus at Portsmouth, bearing his name and the epitaph "Sic Transit Gloria Mundi."

THE CONCILIATORY PROPOSITION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION OF 1788

BY GEORGE H. HAYNES

In many respects the problem which at this moment engages the United States Senate resembles the problem which confronted the conventions in the several States, after the draft of the Federal Constitution had been submitted to them for approval.

Then, as now, the question was whether they should ratify a plan for a more perfect union. Then, as now, this plan had been formulated in an assembly whose delegates for many months had worked behind closed doors, in even greater secrecy than that which veiled the Paris Conference. Then, as now, the assembly had disregarded limitations which explicitly or traditionally curbed the competence of such bodies, and submitted a project which was genuinely revolutionary. Then, as now, there were the most violent attacks upon the methods, the motives, the characters of the delegates who had formulated the project. Then, as now, there was much talk of the rights of "sovereign States," and the most jealous anxiety lest that sovereignty be in the slightest degree impaired. Then, as now, the outcome of the assembly's labors was an instrument of compromises. As such, it was satisfactory to not one of the delegates who signed it, and its provisions were no sooner published than they called forth the bitterest denunciation. Then, as now, some delegates had refused to sign a compact which they deemed prejudicial to the States which they represented.

An historical analogy should not be "made to go on all fours." Certain fundamental differences between these two historic situations at once suggest themselves. Thus, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and their sister States had never been "sovereign States" in any proper sense of that term; they had all been British dependencies, had united in asserting and maintaining not their individual but their common independence, and for half a dozen years had been managing their governmental affairs under what professed to be "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." Obviously the foundations for "a more perfect Union" were more firmly laid among those American States along the Atlantic seaboard than among the motley of widely scattered nations represented at the peace table in Paris.

Nevertheless, then, as now, the great question before the people and the conventions in the several States was: Shall we give our assent to this secretly-framed, revolutionary instrument of compromises, which may provide a more perfect Union, but which in so doing will inevitably impair the "sovereignty" of our own State? And then, as now, the greatest inducement to ratification of the new plan of union—which many feared might prove an entangling alliance—lay in the belief that disorders at home and the menace of war with foreign nations threatened evils which could be avoided only by entrance into some firmer bond.

It is not the present purpose to summarize the grounds of approval or of disapproval of the proposed Constitution in those anxious months which preceded its final ratification, but rather to call to mind the attitude as to ratification taken by several leaders, the *impasse* which seemed to have been reached by the beginning of the year 1788, and the "conciliatory proposition," the acceptance of which by the Massachusetts Convention pointed the way of escape.

In the several States there were not a few men whose

individualism or whose prime concern for the interests of their own States led them into fierce denunciation of the proposed frame of government. Thus in the Virginia Convention, says McMaster, Patrick Henry's speeches "were, in truth, a singular mingling of appeals to God and the American spirit, with such reasons for hating the Constitution as were every night hiccupped out in the taverns or printed every week in the *Chronicle*. . . . Would Virginia give to Congress a right to collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises? Were Virginians about to abandon their country to the depredations of excisemen? Did they intend that any Assembly but the General Assembly should tax them, or any tribunal but the courts of Virginia adjust their disputes? . . . The new plan was a pernicious, an impolitic, a dangerous system. It was a great consolidated government . . . A standing army would do the will of tyrants. . . . These and a hundred other arguments, just as shallow and absurd, he continued for ten days to set forth, with all the eloquence and ingenuity of which he was master."*

But there were other Virginians of deeper insight and greater sense of responsibility. So thoroughgoing an individualist as Jefferson could not fail to find much that was repugnant in the proposed plan. Nevertheless, he felt it imperative that the Constitution be ratified. He declared: "It will be more difficult, if we lose this instrument, to recover what is good in it than to correct what is bad after we shall have adopted it." At first it was his hope that nine States would promptly ratify it, "in order to conserve what was good in it, and that the others might, by holding off, produce the necessary amendments.¹ In similar fashion, there are those today who would consider it a world catastrophe if the League of Nations should not come into effect, but prefer that

*History of the People of the United States, I, 491.

¹Letter, Paris, May 27, 1788.

other nations shall put the League into operation, while the United States, "by holding off," may "produce the necessary amendments."

Washington, who had presided over the secret sessions of the Constitutional Convention during those five anxious months in Philadelphia recognized clearly the danger of attempting to force amendments as a condition of ratification. Again and again his letters make this plain. Thus² a week before the Massachusetts Convention assembled, he was writing to Edmund Randolph:

To my judgment it is more clear than ever, that an attempt to amend the constitution, which is submitted, would be productive of more heat and greater confusion than can well be conceived. There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now more firmly believe, that in the aggregate it is the best constitution, that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution of the Union, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative before us. Thus believing, I had not, nor have I now, any hesitation deciding on which to lean.

A month later³ he wrote to Lafayette:

Some respectable characters have wished that the States, after having pointed out whatever alterations and amendments may be judged necessary, would appoint another federal convention to modify it (the Constitution) upon those suggestions. For myself, I have wondered that sensible men should not see the impracticability of this scheme. The members would go fortified with such instructions, that nothing but discordant ideas could prevail. Had I but slightly suspected, at the time when the late Convention was in session, that another Convention would not be likely to agree upon a better form of government, I should now be confirmed in the fixed belief that they would not be likely to agree upon any system what ever; so many, I may add, such contradictory and unfounded objections have been urged against the system in contemplation, many of which would operate equally against every effective government that might be proposed. I will only say, as a further opinion founded on

¹January 1, 1788. The Writings of Washington, (Sparks, 1835) IX, p. 297.

²February 7, 1788. Ibid. p. 318.

the maturest deliberation, that there is no alternative, no hope of alteration, no intermediate resting-place, between the adoption of this and a recurrence to an unqualified state of anarchy, with all its deplorable consequences.

To John Armstrong⁴ he wrote:

That the proposed Constitution will admit of amendments is acknowledged by its warmest advocates: but to make such amendments as may be proposed by the several States the condition of its adoption would, in my opinion, amount to a complete rejection of it; for upon examination of the objections which are made by the opponents in the different States, it will be found that what would be a favorite object with one State, is the very thing which is strenuously opposed by another. The truth is, we are too apt to be swayed by local prejudices, and those who are so fond of amendments, which have the particular interests of their own State in view, cannot extend their ideas to the general welfare of the Union. They do not consider, that, for every sacrifice which they make, they receive an ample compensation by the sacrifices, which are made by other States for their benefit; and that those very things which they give up, operate to their advantage through the medium of the great interest.

In addition to these considerations, it should be remembered that a constitutional door is opened for such amendments as shall be thought necessary by nine States. When I reflect upon these circumstances, I am surprised to find, that any person who is acquainted with the critical state of our public affairs, and knows the variety of views, interests, feelings and prejudices, which must be consulted in framing a general government for these States, and how little propositions in themselves so opposite to each other will tend to promote that desirable end, can wish to make amendments the *ultimatum* for adopting the offered system.

That improvement in the Constitution must come after, not before, its ratification he repeatedly urged. To Lafayette he wrote:

We are not to expect perfection in this world; but mankind, in modern times, has apparently made some progress in the science of government. Should that, which is now offered to the people of America, be found on experiment less perfect than it can be made, a constitutional door is left open for its amelioration.

⁴April 25, 1788. Ibid. p. 351.

To this same thought he recurs in a letter to Bushrod Washington.⁵

The warmest friends and the best supporters the Constitution has, do not contend that it is free from imperfections; but they found these unavoidable, and are sensible, if evil is likely to arise therefrom, the remedy must come thereafter. In the present moment it is not to be obtained; and, as there is a constitutional door open for it, I think the people (for it is with them to judge) as they will have the advantage of experience on their side, can decide with as much propriety as ourselves on the alterations and amendments which are necessary. I do not think we are more inspired, have more wisdom or possess more virtue than those who will come after us.

With this view Henry Knox was in entire accord. To Lafayette he had written, a few weeks after the draft Constitution had been published:⁶

In desiring that the proposed government may be adopted I would not have you believe that I think it all perfect. There are several things in it that I confess I could wish to see altered. But I apprehend no alterations can be effected peaceably. All the States represented agreed to the Constitution as it stands. There are substantial reasons to believe that such an agreement could not again be produced even by the same men.

The outcome of the Massachusetts's Conventions deliberations was awaited with keen expectancy, for it was generally recognized that her decision was likely to determine the Constitution's fate. Five States had promptly given their ratification, but there the movement stalled, and in Pennsylvania retraction of the ratification was being vigorously urged by the minority. The New Hampshire Convention had hardly met when it was adjourned, avowedly to await the Massachusetts verdict. Madison wrote to Washington that the decision of Massachusetts would involve the result in New York, and he added that an adverse decision would also probably embolden the

⁵February 7, 1788. Ibid. p. 318.

⁶October 24, 1787. F. S. Drake, *Life of Henry Knox*, p. 96.

Pennsylvania minority to set at naught the ratification in that State and make some rash but dangerous move against the new system.

With like expectancy the world today awaits the action of the United States Senate, which is to say whether the League of Nations shall have substance and reality. Is there a single signatory to the Treaty whose people will not clamor that alterations be made in its interest, if the United States Senate gives the cue in a conditional or qualified ratification?

How did the Massachusetts Convention face its similarly momentous decision? Opposition to the Constitution was known to be strong. It was the current report that from twenty to thirty of Shays's officers were members of the Convention. Edward Bangs wrote to George Thatcher (January 1, 1788): "Of upwards of 50 members for this (Worcester) county not more than seven or eight delegates are of my present sentiments, [i. e. favorable to the Constitution,] and yet some of them are good men.—Not all insurgents, I assure you." The Federalists saw clearly that the opposition to the Constitution was so widely distributed and so deep-rooted that ratification would be impossible unless the grounds of that opposition were frankly recognized and unless there were opened up a hopeful prospect for their removal. An agreement was promptly reached that no votes should be taken till the provisions of the Constitution had received thorough consideration. But the Federal leaders soon became convinced that defeat awaited them, unless votes could be won by some compromise. They took counsel together, and formulated their proposals. Theophilus Parsons, so his son later declared, wrote these resolutions, and every word of them. Then the problem was how to launch them in the Convention. It was essential that the proposal should "seem to emanate from some one who, if not an opponent of the Constitution, had at least taken no steps toward securing its adoption; from some one,

too, in whom the popular party had full confidence."⁷

This combination of qualities was found in John Hancock, Governor of the Commonwealth and titular President of the Convention. "Up to January 30 his gout, a convenient disease which, as John Adams had remarked some years before, always seized him when there was anything unpleasant or unpopular to do, had prevented him from taking his seat in the Convention. Ten days before, Rufus King had ironically written: "Hancock is still confined, or rather he has not yet taken his seat: as soon as the majority is exhibited on either side, I think his Health will suffice him to be abroad." Gerry's biography also conveys the same impression. "The Governor" he writes,⁸ "has held his opinions in reserve; both parties chose to claim his vote. In this doubtful state of things, each was anxious to secure his influence, while they, who were not his friends, attributed his absence not so much to disease, which was the assigned cause, as to a desire of knowing which side should be taken for popularity."

To the Convention's President, absent in body and supposedly open of mind, the Federalist leaders therefore resorted. Gerry's biographer gives a crabbed account of what he understood took place at that interview. They presented "a series of amendments, which had been the result of much anxious deliberation. These could not, indeed, be incorporated into the Constitution by the vote of a State, but they could accompany the ratification as the wish and expectation of this important member of the confederation, and be by that measure finally secured. They tendered to his excellency the honor of proposing them in Convention. The reputation of having devised this middle course, the credit of announcing

⁷So writes Prof. Samuel B. Harding whose monograph, "The Federal Constitution in Massachusetts," gives an excellent account of the course of events attending the ratification in this Commonwealth. Harvard Historical Studies, 1896. See p.85.)

⁸J. T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, II, p. 73.

it, the imperishable glory of its success, they had deemed it respectful to offer to him, that to the fame of having given his official sanction to the declaration of his country's independence, might be added that of securing for it a permanent constitution of government." These glowing phrases are probably the product of Gerry's historical imagination, for he was an outsider. It seems evident that more definite allurements were presented,—for, a few days after the interview, Rufus King wrote to Henry Knox: "Hancock will hereafter receive the universal support of Bowdoin's friends, and we tell him that if Virginia does not unite, which is problematical, that he is considered the only fair candidate for President."⁹

Accordingly, January 30, Governor Hancock's health did "suffice him to be abroad." "The charm was irresistible. Wrapped in his flannels, Hancock . . . took the chair of the Convention, and a scene ensued more in the character of a dramatic representation, than of that serious and important business, which was the occasion of the assembly. In a speech, vain and plausible enough in itself, but sufficiently ludicrous to those behind the scenes, the Governor and President announced the anxiety of his mind, his doubts, his wishes, his conciliatory plans."¹⁰

To quote from the report of his speech, as given in the Debates of the Convention:

His situation had not permitted him to enter into the debates of this Convention: it however appeared to him necessary from what had been advanced in them, to adopt the form of government proposed; but, observing a diversity of sentiment in the gentlemen of the Convention, he had frequently had conversation with them on the subject; and from this conversation, he was induced to propose to them, whether the introduction of some general amendments would not be attended with the happiest consequences. For that purpose he should, with the leave of the honorable Convention, submit to their consideration a proposition, in order to remove the

⁹F. S. Drake, *Life of Henry Knox*, p. 98. (Feb. 3, 1788.)

¹⁰*Life of Gerry*, II, p. 75.

doubts, and quiet the apprehensions of gentlemen He should, therefore, submit them; for he was, he said, unable to go more largely into the subject, if his abilities would permit him; relying on the candor of the Convention to bear him witness that his wishes for a good Constitution were sincere. [His Excellency then read his proposition.] This, gentlemen, concluded his Excellency, is the proposition which I had to make and I submit it to your consideration, with the sincere wish that it may have a tendency to promote a spirit of union."¹¹

The essential feature of the proposal—"a scheme so simple, and yet so important in its results"—was that Massachusetts should give the Constitution an unqualified ratification, but should accompany that action by urging the prompt addition of specific amendments.

The effect of its introduction was instantaneous. No sooner had Hancock ended his speech when Samuel Adams took the floor. Up to this moment he had been neutral in the Convention, though known to be strongly opposed to some features of the Constitution. He began:

"Mr. President: I feel myself happy in contemplating the idea that many benefits will result from your Excellency's *conciliatory proposition*, to this Commonwealth and to the United States; . . . I have said, that I have had my doubts of this Constitution. I could not digest every part of it, as readily as some gentlemen; . . . Other gentlemen have had their doubts, but in my opinion, the proposition submitted, will have a tendency to remove such doubts and to conciliate the minds of the Convention and the people without doors. This subject, Sir, is of the greatest magnitude, and has employed the attention of every rational man in the United States; but the minds of the people are not so well agreed on it as all of us could wish. A proposal of this sort, coming from Massachusetts, from her importance, will have its weight. Four or five States have considered and ratified the Constitution as it stands; but we know there is a diversity of opinion, even in these States, and one of them is greatly agitated. If this Convention should particularize the amendments necessary to be proposed, it appears to me it must have

¹¹Massachusetts Convention, 1788 (Ed. of 1856) p. 225.

weight in other States where Conventions have not yet met." He therefore moved that the proposition be at once taken into consideration by the Convention."¹²

Brought forward by John Hancock and immediately enlisting the support of Samuel Adams, the proposition was assured of the Convention's earnest attention. "On motion of a doubtful character" (to use Madison's phrase), it was promptly referred to a large committee, consisting of two members from each of the large counties, and of one from two small ones. It was characteristic of the spirit of the Convention that it was further agreed that "each county should nominate their own members, and that they should take one who had given his vote for, and one who had given his opinion against, the Constitution, in each county wherein two were chosen."¹³

Nevertheless, Madison reported to Washington: "We have a majority of Federalists on this committee, and flatter ourselves the result will be favorable."¹⁴

That forecast proved justified. The committee made no essential changes; they did little else than fill certain blanks which had been left in the original draft. In less than a week the Convention was ready for the final vote. On that very morning, Samuel Adams introduced a series of amendments—in the nature of a Bill of Rights—to be added to those reported by the Committee. In the words of the record of the Debates of the Convention: "But they not meeting the approbation of those gentlemen whose minds they were intended to ease, after they were debated a considerable time, the honorable gentlemen withdrew them." They were, however, promptly proposed by another member, whereupon Adams found himself constrained to vote against the measure

¹²Ibid. pp. 225-6.

¹³Benjamin Lincoln to George Washington, Feb. 3, 1788.

¹⁴Works of Madison, I, 376. Feb. 11, 1788.

which he had himself proposed. Of this peculiar episode Jeremy Belknap wrote that Adams¹⁵

"had almost overset the applecart by *intruding* an amendment on the morning of the day of ratification . . . It was apprehended this manoeuvre lost the Constitution several votes. Some suspect his *intention* was to overset the whole; but 'Charity hopeth all things,' and I am seriously of the mind that it rather proceeded from vanity of increasing his *own* popularity, as Hancock had his, by the midwifeing the other amendments into the world. Had it not been for this step, the whole exertion had been in vain. Adams has made himself unpopular."

In a conciliatory speech, urging all to acquiesce in the decision expressed by the majority, President Hancock, February 6, submitted to the Convention the question of ratifying the Constitution. The vote stood: Yeas, 187; Nays, 168, so that it was carried by a majority of nineteen.¹⁶

Despite the narrowness of the majority, the vote was accepted as decisive and in the closing hours of the Convention many of the Constitution's former opponents acknowledged that many of their doubts had been removed, that they had been fairly outvoted, and declared their intention of going back to their constituents and trying—as one Worcester County member phrased it—"to infuse a spirit of harmony and love among the people". Throughout the Commonwealth the action of the Convention soon met with cordial acquiescence, even in the counties where opposition had been most pronounced.

What were these amendments, whose proposal had such a conciliatory effect, and in what form were they associated with the resolution of ratification? The essential portions of the resolution are as follows:¹⁷

¹⁵Letter to Hazard, Feb. 10, 1788. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections* Fifth Series, III, 17.

¹⁶It is interesting to observe that Worcester County's delegation proved impervious to argument. Only two or three of them had taken any part in the debates. In the final, vote their stand was exactly as Bangs had forecast it before the Convention assembled,—43 against ratification to seven in favor of it.

¹⁷Journal of the Convention of 1788. (Ed. of 1856) pp. 83-85.

The Convention, having impartially discussed and fully considered the Constitution of the United States of America . . . do, in the name and in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *assent to and ratify* the said CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

And as it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the federal government, the Convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said Constitution.

The nine proposed amendments may be summarized as follows:

First. That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly delegated by the Constitution, are reserved to the several States. (Cf. Article X, Amendments.)

Second. That there should be one representative to every 30,000, until the whole number of representatives reached 200.

Third. That Congress should exercise the power to regulate elections only when a State neglected or refused to make adequate provision therefor, or made regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation.

Fourth. That Congress should lay direct taxes only when the revenue from imposts and excises was insufficient.

Fifth. That Congress should erect no company with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixth. That indictment by a grand jury must precede trial for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, except in the land or naval forces. (Cf. Amendment V.)

Seventh. That in suits between citizens of different States the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts should be limited to causes wherein the matter in dispute was of a certain value.

Eighth. That in all civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in actions at common law, should be tried by a jury, at the request of either party. (Cf. Amendment VII.)

Ninth. Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept of a title of nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince, or foreign state. (Cf. Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 8.)

Then followed the paragraph which set forth the future course to be pursued as to these proposals:—

“And the Convention do, in the name and in behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress, at all times, until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered, agreeably to the fifth article of the said Constitution: to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions, in such manner as is provided in the said article.” And with the formal notice of the assent and ratification of the Constitution this recommendation and injunction should also be transmitted to the United States, in Congress assembled.

The importance which at the time was attached to the Massachusetts Convention's action is evidenced by the eager comment upon it in the letters of leaders of the day. Hardly a week passed during its sessions in which Washington did not receive direct personal reports of its doings from his own correspondents in Boston, or from Madison and others conveying the news which had reached them. Washington's solicitude as to the outcome was very great. To Benjamin Lincoln¹⁸ he wrote: “There is no doubt but the decision of other States will have great influence here, particularly one so respectable as Massachusetts.” To Madison, a few weeks later, he wrote:¹⁹ “A rejection of the new form by that State (Massachusetts) would invigorate the opposition, not only in New York, but in all those which are to follow; at the same time it would afford materials for the minority in such as have already agreed to it, to blow the trumpet of discord more loudly.”

Nine days had passed after the ratification before Madison could relieve Washington's anxiety by this message:— “I have at length the pleasure to enclose to you the favorable result of the Convention at Boston. The amendments are a blemish, but are

¹⁸Washington's Writing, IX, p. 311. Jan. 31, 1788.

¹⁹Feb. 5, 1788. Ibid. p. 312.

in the least offensive form."²⁰ To this, Washington replied: "The decision of Massachusetts, notwithstanding its concomitants, is a severe stroke to the opponents of the proposed constitution in this State."²¹ To Benjamin Lincoln he wrote: "The conciliatory behaviour of the minority will strike a damp on the hopes, which opponents in other States might otherwise have formed from the smallness of the majority, and must be greatly influential in obtaining a favorable determination in those States which have not yet decided upon it."²² To Henry Knox he sent the comment: "Had this (ratification) been done without its concomitants, by a larger majority, the stroke would have been more severely felt by the antifederalists in other States. As it is, it operates as a damper to their hopes, and is a matter of disappointment and chagrin to them all . . . It will be very influential on the equivocal States."²³ In reporting the outcome to Lafayette, Washington wrote:²⁴ "Massachusetts adopted the constitution *in toto*, but recommended a number of specific alterations as an early, serious and unremitting subject of attention."

There were some who felt slight confidence in the course which had been here pursued. Thus Richard Henry Lee²⁵ wrote: "Massachusetts, I see, had adopted the plan, but proposes to insist perseveringly on amendments. If it were permitted an individual to question so enlightened an assembly, I would ask, why submit to a system requiring such amendments, and trust to creatures of our own creation, for the correcting of evils in it that threaten the destruction of those ends for which the system was formed."

²⁰Feb. 15, 1788. Works of Madison, I, p. 376.

²¹Virginia, Writings of Washington, IX, p. 330. March 2, 1788.

²²Feb. 28, 1788. Ibid, p. 328.

²³March 3, 1788. Ibid, p. 333.

²⁴April 28, 1788. Ibid, p. 357.

²⁵April 28, 1788.

But, on the other hand, the hitherto doubting Thomas Jefferson, when the news from Boston reached him in Paris, at once declared the Massachusetts solution far preferable to that which he, himself, had advocated, and expressed the hope that this example—this “noble conduct” of Massachusetts—would be “followed by the [States] who are yet to decide,” declaring that, if they did so, “it is impossible but that they must attain the essential amendments.”²⁶

Of the actual influence which the action of the precedent set by the Massachusetts Convention exercised, Professor Harding says: “The ratification of the proposed Constitution by Massachusetts was the turning point in the contest. Not only had that State influence enough to decide many who before had been wavering, but she had by her conciliatory proposition shown a way by which the Constitution might be saved, while at the same time the dangers would be obviated which many conceived would result from unconditional acceptance. . . . To the rank and file of the opposition in other States, as in Massachusetts, the idea proved exceedingly taking.

. . . The most striking testimony to the influence of Massachusetts in this particular, however, is found in the action of the Conventions themselves. Prior to the inauguration by Massachusetts of the practice of recommending amendments, the issue presented had been the bare one of acceptance or rejection. Of the five States which had already ratified the Constitution, not one had officially proposed a single amendment to that instrument. After Massachusetts had once pointed out the way, however, all this was changed: of the seven States which had yet to ratify, only one, Maryland, omitted to take such action.”

Great doors often turn upon small hinges. But for our Convention’s adoption of that “conciliatory proposition,” it would seem that the ratification of the Constitution would have been impossible. The only

²⁶Writings of Jefferson, (May 27, 1788) V. 20; (June 3), p. 23-5.

alternative, so Washington declared, would have been "a recurrence to an unqualified state of anarchy."²⁷ Yet hardly had the new government been put in operation than Americans' attitude toward the Constitution underwent an almost incredible transformation. Von Holst follows his account of the desperate struggle over the Constitution's ratification by a chapter entitled, "The Worship of the Constitution." Years later, Mr. Bryce observed: "It has long been the habit of Americans to talk of their Constitution with almost superstitious reverence."

Out of the 103 amendments suggested by the various States, the First Congress approved twelve, which were submitted for ratification. Ten of these forthwith were added to the Constitution. In these ten amendments we find traces of only three of those nine proposals which had been put forward in the Massachusetts Convention, under such critical circumstance. It may be doubted whether even these proposals, which did find their way into the fundamental law through what Washington called the "constitutional door," made any material difference in the development through which our government was to pass. As to the other six proposals, it needed but a few years' experience to prove some of them superfluous, some immaterial, and at least one preposterous. Our representatives in Congress speedily forgot that solemn injunction that they "exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification" of those precious amendments. Yet it was genuine statesmanship which formulated them to meet the anxious fears of Massachusetts opponents of the Constitution, and which secured their being put forward in such wise as not to delay or endanger the formation of that more perfect union the need for which was becoming so tragically evident.

The clock from the stairway yonder warns me that I have trespassed too long upon your patience. One

²⁷Writings, IX, p. 319.

hundred and thirty-one years ago, that very clock, in John Hancock's home, warned him that the time had come for him, wrapped in his flannels, to proceed to the Convention, to introduce that "conciliatory proposition." At this moment, as four generations ago, the opportunity to formulate and to secure the adoption of a new "conciliatory proposition," upon which shall turn the fate, not of a more perfect union of a few little American States but of the League of all the Great Nations of the earth, may lie within the grasp of another Massachusetts statesman, her senior Senator, an honored member of this Society.

When four generations more shall have passed, will meetings of this already venerable Society still gather in this Library, built to bid defiance to Time? Will John Hancock's clock still chime a reminder of its owner's part in connection with the ratification of the Constitution, and all the progress which that act made possible? Will the objections which today delay America's acceptance of membership in the League of Nations then seem momentous enough to justify her refusal to join the League, or to justify the qualifying of her ratification of the Treaty with such reservations as will force the re-opening of all the major issues at the Paris Conference, or to justify the withdrawal of America from all concern with the affairs of the other nations of the earth, except as Congress may decide that America's interests are involved? Will America's best service to the world then be seen to have required such withdrawal? Or, in comparison with the earnest seeking to attain a League of Nations which shall enforce peace and justice, will these anxiously debated present-day amendments and reservations seem as superfluous, as immaterial, as most of the nine suggested amendments which constituted that "conciliatory proposition" of long ago?

Who shall say? For Antiquarians what rôle could be less fitting than that of the prophet!

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Worcester Telegram.
Worcester Woman's Club.
World Peace Foundation.
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Yale University Library.
Yale University Press.

INDEX.

A

- Achard, Madame, 126*n*.
 Acosta, Joseph de, 13.
 Adams, George B., on relation of geography and history, 30.
 Adams, Henry, on Burr, 48.
 Adams, John, 301; note to Burr, 122.
 Adams, Samuel, in Constitutional Convention, 303, 305.
 Aerography, relation to history, 39.
 Agnew, Adeline, 125*n*.
 Aiken, Alfred L., appointed teller, 182; life membership, 201.
 Aitken, Samuel, engraver, 212.
 Alden, Ebenezer, Fund, 202; gift, and legacy, 206.
 Alfaro, Anastasio, member, elected, 4.
 Allen, Katharine, legacy, 208.
 Alston, Joseph, 103, 123; letter to T. Burr, 102.
 American Antiquarian Society, meetings, and members present, 1, 181, elected, 4, 182, and entertained, 6, 184; fellowship to Clark University, 5, 191; new bookplate, 5, 220; Council reports, 7, 185, separate publication, 187; Spanish American collections, 12, 213, 217; special gifts, 15, 211, 213, 218, 220; obituaries, 16, 185; officers, 182; bookplate exhibit, 184, 187; S. A. Green legacy, 185; Proceedings delayed, 187; service to students, 191; stack enlargement, 192, and plan, 195; increase of endowment, 192, 220; Treasurer's report, 199; Librarian's report, 209.
 American Council of Learned Societies, A. A. S. representatives, 184; resolution, and votes, 190.
 American Geographical and Statistical Society, purpose of, 29.
 American Historical Association, conference on relation of geography to history, 30.

- "American Star," file acquired, 217.
 Andrade, Vincente de P., 13.
 Appleton, Nathan, gift, 206.
 Appleton, Nathaniel, 271.
 "Argus," Albany, files acquired, 217.
 Armstrong, John, 120, 298.
 Arnold, Benedict, 52; address, 1776, 67.
 Arnold, Joseph, 127.
 Autographs, collectors restrained, 43.
 Ayers, Edward E., Indian literature, 4.

B

- Balch, Thomas W., gift, 207.
 Baldwin, Abraham, 115.
 Baldwin, Simeon E., gift, 207.
 Bancroft, George, 29, 33.
 Bancroft, Hubert H., Mexican literature, 4.
 Bandelier, Adolph F., Mexican mss., 3.
 Bangs, Edward, favors Constitution, 300.
 Bangs, Edward D., legacy, 206.
 Barrett, John, 8.
 Bassett, John S., 40.
 Baxter, James P., Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 183; gift, 207.
 Beecher, Lyman, 235.
 Belknap, Jeremy, on S. Adams, 305.
 Bennis, Frank Lee, awarded A.A.S. fellowship at Clark University, 191.
 Bent's Ferry, 238*n*.
 Benzon, Girolamo, 13.
 Beristain y Souza, José M., 13.
 Berry, Mrs. Betsy (Wendell), 262.
 Biddle, James, letter to Burr, 117.
 Bidwell, Percy Wells, 224.
 Bigelow, John P., legacy, 206.
 Bingham Hiram, Spanish American collector, 3, 11; representative of American Council of Learned Societies, 184.

- Bixby, William K., Burr's Journal, 45.
- Blakeslee, George H., Council report, 2, 7, discussion following, 2; appointed teller, 182; Councillor, 183.
- Blennerhassett, Mrs. Herman, 125.
- Bliss, Eugene F., gift, 207.
- Bloomfield, Isaiah, letter to Burr, 108.
- Bonaparte, Lucien, *Prince*, library of, 3.
- Bookbinding Fund, 202.
- Bookplates, Society's new plate, 5 220; plates of Presidents, 5; E. D. French exhibition, 184; Marshall collection acquired, 187, 219.
- Boston, A Gentlewoman of, 1742-1805, 242.
- Boston Museum, 242.
- Boudinot, Elisha, letter to Burr, 96.
- Bowditch, Charles P., Maya mss., 3; gift, 207.
- Bowen, Clarence W., Councillor, 183.
- Bradley, Stephen R., 115.
- Breckenridge, John, 114.
- Brigham, Albert P., 32.
- Brigham, Clarence S., 5; obituaries of H. A. Parker, 21, A. D. White, 27; Bibliography of American Newspapers, Pt. XI, 129; Librarian's report, 209.
- Brinton, Daniel G., Spanish American collector, 2.
- Brown, John Carter, purchase of León library, 3.
- Bryce, James, on the Constitution, 310.
- Buckler, William H., representative of American Council of Learned Societies, 190.
- Bullock, A. George, gift, 207.
- Bureau of American Republics, Spanish American collection, 3.
- Bureau of Education, text book collection, 188.
- Bureau of Ethnology, Spanish American collection, 2.
- Burr, Aaron, Some papers of, 43; dispersed by M. L. Davis, 43; journal, 45; "Memoirs," a breach of trust, 46; H. Adams on, 48; opposition of Jefferson, 50, 53; Federalists influence, 50; ambition, 51; friendship, 51, 70; college life, 55; Aid to Montgomery, 66; marriage certificate, 92; portrait, 112*n*; imprisoned, 123; trial, 125.
- Burr, George L., on geography factor in history, 30.
- Burr, Theodosia, 51, 102; letters to J. Alston, 103, to Mrs. Blennerhassett, 125.
- Burton, Clarence M., gift, 207.
- Bushnell, Horace, on New England migration, 224.

C

- Calloun, John C., letter to M. L. Davis, 128.
- Carroll, Charles, letter to D. Wooster, 69.
- Cortier, Jacques, 39.
- Casares, David, 13.
- Catheart, James L., 120.
- Catholic University of America, Latin American collection, 12.
- Centennial Fund, 202.
- Champlin, Christopher G., legacy, 206.
- Chandler, George, Fund, 202; gift, 206.
- Channing, William E., on freedom of thought, 239*n*.
- Chase, Samuel, letter to D. Wooster, 69.
- Clark University, fellowship from A. A. S., 5, 191; theses upon Latin American subjects, 11.
- Clarke, Edwin L., on New England heredity, 231*n*.
- Clarke, William, 31.
- Climate, influence on early settlements, 33.
- Colden, Cadwallader, 79.
- Collection and Research Fund, 202.
- Colleges, collections acquired, 218.
- Colombo, Cristoforo, 39.
- Colton, Reuben, appointed teller, 182.
- Columbus Memorial Library, Latin American literature, 11.
- Connor, Robert D. W., member, elected, 182.
- Constitution*, frigate, 113.
- Constitution of the United States, The Conciliatory Proposition in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788, 294.
- Continental Congress, appointment of Army officers, 59; bills of credit, 67.
- Conway, Thomas, letter to Burr, 77.

Corey, *Mrs.* Deloraine P., gifts, 207, 208.
 Cristy, Austin P., gift, 207.
 Cunningham, Henry W., appointed teller, 4; nominating committee, 182; Councillor, 182; obituary of H. E. Woods, 196; gift, 207.

D

Dallas, Alexander J., brief to A. Burr, 109.
 Dampier, William, 13.
 Davidson, George, 39.
 Davis, Andrew McF., Vice-President, 182; felicitations, 184; gifts, 207, 210.
 Davis, Betsy, (*Mrs.* David Townsend), 259, 265, 270, 271, 279, 291.
 Davis, Charles H., gift, 207.
 Davis, Edward, 259, 278, 280, 283; letters, 261, 270.
 Davis, Edward L., gifts, 13, 206, 207; Fund, 202.
 Davis, George, 119.
 Davis, Horace, gift, 207; legacy, 208.
 Davis, Isaac, 279, 282.
 Davis, Isaac, founded A. A. S. Hispanic Americana collection, 12; gifts, 206.
 Davis, Isaac and Edward L., Fund, 202; scope of, changed, 13.
 Davis, John and Eliza, Fund, 158.
 Davis, *Mrs.* John, Burr papers acquired, 43, 45, 54.
 Davis, John C. B., gift, 207.
 Davis, Matthew L., 103, 119, 128; Burr papers distributed, 43, 54, and disloyalty, 46, 53; journalist, 46.
 Davis, Solomon, 244-246, 250, 251, 254, 259-265, 268-277, 279.
 Davis, William, 277, 278.
 Dawkins, Henry, engraver, 219.
 Dayton, Jonathan, 53; letter to Burr, 121.
 Deane, Silas, letter to Baron Rottenbourg, 91.
 Dearborn, Henry, letter to Burr, 106.
 Dekey, *Mrs.*, 249.
 Dennie, *Mrs.* Sarah (Wendell), 256.
 DeVisme, *Miss*, 79.
 De Visme, Peter, 88.
 Dew, Thomas R., on Virginia's migration losses, 232.

Dewey, Francis H. [1], Fund, 202; legacy, 207.
 Dewey, Francis H. [2], Councillor, 182; gift, 207.
 Dexter, Franklin B., gifts, 207, 218; Yale collection, 218.
 Dexter, James P., 33.
 Dickinson, John, letter to Burr, 109.
 Dodge, *Mrs.* Eliza D., Fund, 202; legacy, 207.
 Doolittle, Amos, engraver, 219.
 Drake, *Sir* Francis, 13; Nova Albion, 39.
 Duer, William, letter to D. Wooster, 75.
 Dwight, Timothy, letter to Burr, 55.

E

Easton, James, 65.
 Eaton, William, 120.
 Edes, Henry H., 182, 184; nominating committee, 182; Councillor, 183; gift, 207.
 Edmonds, John H., 214; appointed teller, 4; nominating committee, 182; Publication Committee, elected, 183; life membership, 201.
 Edwards, Timothy, letter to Burr, 58.
 Ellery, Christopher, 105.
 Ellery, William, 105.
 Ellis, George E., Fund, 202; legacy, 207.
 Emerson, Ralph W., on New England industries, 235*n*, 236*n*, 237*n*; on Am. literature, 240*n*.
 Endicott, William C., entertains members of Society, 6.
 Erkelens, Gosuinus, 80.
Essex, frigate, 117.
 Etting, Mrs. Rostiff I., 79.
 Everett, Edward, gift, 206.

F

Fernald, Merritt L., refutes Norse traditions, 32.
 Fiske, Jonathan, 271, 278, 282.
 Fiske, Mrs. Sarah (Wendell), (Gerry), 271, 285, 286, 291, 292.
 Folsom, George, gift, 206.
 Forbes, William T., 183.
 Ford, Worthington C., Some Papers of Aaron Burr, 43; Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, 183.

Journal, 250.

Franklin, Benjamin, 249.

French, Charles E., legacy, 207.

French, Edwin D., bookplates, exhibition, 184, 187.

French, Mrs. Edwin D., gift, 187.

French, George, on New England pioneering, 229.

Freneau, Philip, 108.

G

Gage, Homer, Auditor, 183, and report, 205.

Gallatin, Albert, letter to Burr, 98.

Garnett, James M., 108.

Garraux, Anatole L., 13.

Garver, Austin S., gift, 207.

Gaskill, George A., nominating committee, 182.

Gates, Horatio, letter to Burr, 108.

Gates, William E., Spanish American collector, 2, 12.

Genealogy, large additions, 214.

Gentlewoman of Boston, A., 1742-1805, 242.

Geography, relation to history, 30.

George II, of England, engraving of, 214.

Gerry, Elbridge, 238*n*, 248, 252; letter to A. Burr, 106; letters to J. Wendell, 271, 287; in Constitutional Convention, 301.

Gerry, John, 248, 271.

Gerry, Mrs. Sarah (Wendell), 248, 269, 271.

Gerry, Thomas, 270.

Gibbon, Edward, quoted, 46.

Goddard, Harold C., 240*n*.

Goelet, Francis, 243.

Golden Hinde, 39.

Granger, Gideon, note to Burr, 115.

Granville, Mass., Quincy lands, 244, and divisions, 245, 247, 248, 258, 269, 275.

Grattan, Thomas C., on Irishman in New England, 234.

Greeley, Horace, life of, 47.

Green, Andrew H., legacy, 207.

Green, John, gift, 206.

Green, Samuel A., death announced, 15; obituary, 16; legacy, 185, 208; Fund, 185, 202; gift, 207.

Green, Samuel S., death announced, 15; obituary, 18; gift, 207.

Greene, Richard W., gifts, 213.

H

Hakluyt, Richard, 13.

Hall, G. Stanley, Councillor, 182.

Hamilton, Alexander, 50; letter to Burr, 99.

Hancock, John, 243, 277; indisposition, 265, 267, 301; Harvard treasurer, 266; President Constitutional Convention, 301-305.

Harding, Samuel B., on adoption of Constitution, 300, 309.

Harper, Robert G., letter to Burr, 122.

Harvard University, Spanish American collection, 3, 12; Treasurer's accounts, 266.

Haskins, Charles H., on American Council of Learned Societies, 190

Haven, Mrs. Frances W., Fund, 202; legacy, 207.

Haven, Samuel F., Fund, 202; legacy, 207.

Hay, Udney, letter to Burr, 83.

Haynes, George H., Publication Committee, 183; The Conciliatory Proposition in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788, 294.

Hazen, Moses, 52.

Heath, William, letter to D. Wooster, 74.

Henry, Patrick, opposition to Constitution, 296.

Herrera, Antonio de, 13.

Hill, Benjamin T., Auditor, 183, and report, 205.

Hillhouse, James, note to Burr, 119.

Hispanic America, *see* Spanish America.

Hispanic American Historical Review, 9, 11.

Hispanic Society of America, collections, 4, 12.

History, Increasing Debt to Science, 29.

Hobart, John S., letter to Burr, 92.

Hoffman, Samuel V., gift, 207.

Holmes, Oliver W., 284.

Holst, Hermann E., von, 310.

Hulbert, Archer B., Increasing Debt of History to Science, 5, 29, discussed, 5.

Hull, William, letter to Burr, 88.

Hunnewell, James F., Fund, 202; gift, 207.

Huntington, Archer M., Hispanic American collector, 4.

Huntington, Ellsworth, on climatic conditions, 33.
 Hurd, Nathaniel, engraver, 219.
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 246, 247, 248.
 Hydrography, relation to history, 40.

I

Icazbalceta, Joaquin G., 13.
 Indians, North American, climatic influence, 33; affect of "medicine men," 37.
 Inman, ———, 254, 265.
 Irish immigration, influence in New England, 226, 233.

J

Jackson, Andrew, 229, 240.
 Jackson, Mrs. Edward, portrait, 268.
 Jackson, James, letter to Burr, 114.
 James, James A., member, elected, 4.
 Jefferson, Thomas, H. Adams on, 49; letters to Burr, 98, 100; on ratification of Constitution, 296, 309.
 John Carter Brown Library, Spanish American collection, 3, 12.

K

Kalb, Baron de, letter to W. Malcom, 78.
 Keogh, Andrew, 219.
 King, Rufus, in Constitutional Convention, 301, 302.
 Kinnicutt, Lincoln N., gift, 207.
 Knox, Henry, 302, 308; on ratification of Constitution, 299.
 Kurtz, Alice W., Spanish American collector, 13, 15.

L

Laet, Janus, 13.
 Lafayette, Gilbert M., *marquis* de, 297, 299, 308.
 Lamb, John, 64.
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 13.
 Latin America, *see* Spanish America.
 Leclerc, Charles, 13.
 Ledyard, Benjamin, 120.
 Lee, Charles, letter to D. Wooster, 67.

Lee, Richard H., comments of Massachusetts' ratification, 308.
 Lehmann, Frederick W., member, elected, 4.
 Leland, Waldo G., secretary American Council of Learned Societies, 190.
 Lenox, James, gift, 206.
 Lenox Library, Spanish American collection, 3.
 León, Nicolás, 13; Library purchased, 3.
 Lewis, Meriwether, 31.
 Liberty, sloop, 79.
 Library of Congress, Latin American literature, 2, 11.
 Librarian's and General Fund, 202.
 Life Membership Fund, 202.
 Lincoln, Benjamin, 307, 308; letter of, 74.
 Lincoln, Levi, 105; Legacy Fund, 202; gift, and legacy, 206.
 Lincoln, Nancy, gift, and legacy, 206.
 Lincoln, Waldo, presides, 1, 181; gifts, 15, 207; obituaries of S. S. Green, 18, W. R. Livermore, 197; President, 182; entertains members, 184; Council report, 185; deaths announced of W. R. Livermore and H. E. Woods, 185.
 Linschoten, Jan H. van, 13.
 Little, Charles C., gift, 206.
 Livermore, William R., death announced, 185; obituary, 197.
 Livingston, Edward, letter to M. L. Davis, 103.
 Livingston, John, 80.
 Livingston, Philip V. B., letter to D. Wooster, 62.
 Livingston, William, letter to J. Livingston, 80.
 Lockwood, James, 61.
 Lodge, Henry C., 311; on New England pioneers, 229.
 Lombard, Herbert E., 5, 184.
 Lyon, James, 61.

M

McAdie, Alexander G., 39; value of science to history, 5.
 Maccarty, Nathaniel, legacy, 206.
 McDougall, Alexander, letter to Burr, 84.
 McFarland, William, legacy, 206.
 Macgowan, Elmer A., 205.

- McNeil, Hector, letter from D. Wooster, 68.
 Macy, Jesse, on province of scientist, 29.
 Madison, James, letter to M. L. Davis, 119; on slavery, 232; on ratification of Constitution, 299, 304, 307.
 Malaga, 117.
 Malcolm, W., 77, 78.
 Mallett, Mrs. John L., 126.
 Manuscripts, Mexican, 2; Burr, dispersed, 48.
 Maria, vessel, 68.
 Marsh, Henry A., gift, 207.
 Marshall, Frank E., bookplate collection acquired, 187, 219.
 Martin, Luther, letter on Burr's imprisonment, 129.
 Martyn, Peter, 13.
 Maryland, ratifies Constitution, 309.
 Mason, Stevens T., 114.
 Massachusetts Convention of 1788, The Conciliatory Proposition, 294.
 Mather, ———, 248.
 Medina, José T., 11.
 "Mercurio Peruano," file acquired, 213.
 Merriam, Daniel, legacy, 208.
 Merrick, Pliny, gift, 206.
 Mexico, manuscript collections, 2; printing press, 12; newspapers acquired, 217.
 Michaud, Gustave, on New England migration, 230.
 Milton, Mass., Quinby lands, 247, 248.
 Moncrieffe, Margaret, letter from I. Putnam, 71.
 Monroe, James, letter to Mrs. Prevost, 82.
 Montgomery, Mrs. Janet, letter to Burr, 87.
 Montgomery, Richard, 52; letter from P. Schuyler, 63.
 Montt, Luis, 13, library purchased, 3.
 Moulton, Jotham, letter to D. Wooster, 75.
 Munson, Samuel L., nominating committee, 182.

N

- Nelson, Ernesto, plea for Latin American literary center, 10.
 New England, Greater N. E. in the Middle of the Nineteenth Cen-

- tury, 222; migration, 223, and losses, 232, and ideals, 238; foreign population, 226; industries, 235; literary aspects, 239.
 New Hampshire, delay to ratify Constitution, 299.
 "New London Summary," file acquired, 217.
 New York, delay to ratify Constitution, 299, 307.
 New York Public Library, Latin American collection, 11.
 Newberry Library, 4.
 Newspapers, Spanish American collection, 15; Bibliography of, Pt. XI, 129; duplicates sold, 187, 209; files acquired, 205; value to students, 216; Mexican files acquired, 217; camp files acquired 217.
 Nichols, Charles L., obituary of F. P. Rose, 27; Recording Secretary, 183; gifts, 187, 207.
 Norcross, Greenville H., appointed teller, 4; gifts, 5, 208, 220.
 Noesmen, traditions related, 51.
 "Norwich Packet," file acquired, 217.

O

- Ohio, newspapers, bibliography, 129.
 Oliveira Lima, Manuel de, member, elected, 4; disposition of library, 12.
 Otis, Samuel A., letter to Burr, 63.
 Ovando y Valdes, Guasilo F. de, 13.

P

- Paine, Robert T., on salt making, 212.
 Pan American Union, 7, 8, 10; Latin American literature, 11.
 Pan Americanism, educational interest, 9; history of republics suggested, 10.
 Park, Edwards A., 32.
 Parker, Henry A., death announced, 15; obituary, 21.
 Parsons, Samuel H., 74; letter to T. Wooster, 92.
 Parsons, Theophilus, resolutions on ratification, 300.
 Parsons, Usher D., gift, 206.
 Parton, James, biographical work, 47.
 Paterson, William, letters to Burr, 54, 70.

- Pennsylvania, opposition to Constitution, 299.
 Pepper, *Capt.*, —, 68.
Philadelphia, frigate, 117.
 Photography, aerial, 42.
 Pickering, John, impeachment, 122.
 Pinckney, Charles, letter to Burr, 103.
 Platt, Richard, letters to Burr, 87, 99.
 Point Reyes, 39.
 Portraits, American engraved, collection offered, 188.
 Posey, Chessley J., 31.
 Potter, Alfred C., member, elected, 4.
 Pratt, ———, 258.
 Pratt, Luther, printer, 115.
 Prescott, Richard, 63.
 Prevost, A[nn]e, letter to Burr, 126.
 Prevost, Augustine, 126*n*.
 Prevost, Frederick, 126*n*.
 Prevost, Mrs. Theodosia, 79, 82, 88, 96; marriage certificate, 92; letters to Burr, 94, 95.
 Princeton College, fire, 115.
 Printing, 115; press in Mexico, 12.
 Publishing Fund, 202.
 Purchasing Fund, 202; increased, 187.
 Purviance, Samuel D., 121.
 Putnam, Israel, letter to M. Moncrieffe, 71.
- Q
- Quincy, Dorothy (Mrs. Edward Jackson), portrait, 268.
 Quincy, Dorothy (Mrs. John Hancock), 243, 289.
 Quincy, Edmund [3], 243, 273, 284; portrait, 268.
 Quincy, Edmund [4], 247, 248, 273; letters to J. Wendell, 249, 250, 251, 252, 263.
 Quincy, Elizabeth (Mrs. John Wendell), 243; portrait, 268.
 Quincy, Josiah, 270.
- R
- Randall, *Capt.* ———, 292.
 Randolph, Edmund, 297.
 Randolph, John, letter to Burr, 117.
Ranger, 287.
 Reed, Joseph, letter to D. Wooster, 60.
 Reeve, Sally, letter to Burr, 62.
 Reeve, Tappan, letter to Burr, 65.
 Revere, Paul, engravings in "Royal American Magazine," 211; book-plates, 219.
 Ricci, Seymour de, member, elected, 4.
 Rice, Franklin P., death announced 15; obituary, 22.
 Rivington, James, letter to Burr, 94.
 Robinson, Timothy, 247, 258, 266.
 Rodney, Caesar A., letter to Burr, 107.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, death announced, 15; obituary, 24.
 Rottenbourg, *Baron*, 91.
 "Royal American Magazine," file acquired, 210.
 Royal Geographical Society, origin, 29.
 Rugg, Arthur P., Vice-President, elected, 182.
 Rush, Benjamin, letter to Burr, 97.
 Russell, Jonathan, letter to Burr, 105.
- S
- St. Christopher's Island, Laws of, 15, 213, and Acts, acquired, 214.
 St. Clair, Arthur, letter to Burr, 89.
 Salisbury, Stephen [1], gifts, and legacy, 206.
 Salisbury, Stephen [2], gifts to Hispanic Americana collection, 13; Legacy Fund, 202; gifts, 206, 207; legacy, 207.
 Salt, Art of making, 212.
 Sargent, Edward, 264, 292.
 School books, collection, 188, 220.
 Schuyler, Philip, 52; letter to R. Montgomery, 63.
 Science, Increasing Debt of History to, 29.
 Scott, Mrs. Dorothy (Quincy), (Hancock), 289, 291.
 Scott, James, 289.
 Sears, Isaac, letter to D. Wooster, 59.
 Sedgwick, Theodore, letter to Burr, 72.
 Sergeant, Jonathan, letter to Burr, 58.
 Sewall, Harold M., member, elected, 4.
 Shaw, Robert K., member, elected, 4.
 Shays's rebellion, leaders oppose Constitution, 300.

- Sherburne, Dorothy (Mrs. John Wendell), 255, 257, 258, 261, 263, 264.
- Sherburne, Jonathan, letter on C. Wendell Davis, 264.
- Sherman, Roger, letter to D. Wooster, 59.
- Shotwell, James T., representative of American Council of Learned Societies, 190.
- Sioussat, St. George L., 31.
- Skinner, John [1], 244.
- Skinner, John [2], 274.
- Skinner, Richard, 245, 247, 254, 270, 275, 281, 290.
- Skinner, Tabitha (Mrs. Thomas Gerry), 246, 270, 278.
- Slavery, in Virginia, 232; in Massachusetts, 246, 250; in New Hampshire, 249, 251.
- Smibert, John, portrait of Judge Quincy, 268.
- Smith, Justin H., gift, 207.
- Smith, Samuel S., letter to Burr, 115.
- Smith, Sidney L., A. A. S. book-plate, 5, 220.
- Smith, William, 79.
- South America, increasing interest in, 8.
- Spanish America, collections of literature, 2, 7; exchange professors, 9, 10; scholarships and fellowships to students 9; importance of a literary center, 10; phases studied by students, 11; artes, confesionarios, vocabularies, 14; newspapers, 15.
- Spanish language, increase of study, 9.
- Sparks, Jared, 43.
- Spaulding, Lyman, 287.
- Special Gifts Fund, 202.
- Spencer, Ambrose, letter to Burr, 101.
- Spencer, Joseph, letter to D. Wooster, 73.
- Spring, Samuel, letter to Burr, 57.
- Station, frigate, 117.
- Stevens, Cotton M., 248.
- Stirling, Lord, letter to Burr, 78.
- Stokes, Isaac N. P., member, elected, 182.
- Stone, John H., 121.
- Storer, Ebenezer, 266.
- "Supporter," Chillicothe, files acquired, 217.
- Taft, Jane A., legacy, 208.
- Taft, William H., Councillor, 183.
- Tarr, Ralph S., 32.
- Taylor, Charles H., Jr., gifts, 210.
- Taylor, John, letter to Burr, 118.
- Tenney, Joseph A., Fund, 202; legacy, 206.
- Thatcher, George, 300.
- Thayer, Nathaniel, gift, 206.
- Thayer, William R., member, elected, 4; chairman American Council of Learned Societies, 190.
- Thomas, Benjamin F., Fund, 202; gift, and legacy, 206.
- Thomas, Isaiah, 211; legacy, 206.
- Thomas, William, gift, 206.
- Thomas, William, member, elected, 4.
- Tiffany, P. Dexter, gift, 206.
- Tompkins, Daniel D., letter to Burr, 120.
- Torrey, Ebenezer, gift, 206.
- Tower, Ralph W., 32.
- Townsend, David, 270, 282, 292.
- Tracy, Uriah, letter to Burr, 116.
- Transportation, evolution, 41, 222, 228, 236, 237, 241.
- Tree, age of Sequoia, 5.
- Trelles, Carlos M., 13.
- "Trench and Camp," files acquired, 217.
- Troup, Robert, letter to Burr, 90.
- Trumbull, Jonathan, letter to D. Wooster, 61.
- Truxton, Thomas, 117; letter to Burr, 113.
- Turner, Frederick J., 5, 30, 35; representative of American Council of Learned Societies, 184; Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, 222.
- Tuttle, Julius H., Publication Committee, 183.

T

U

- Union Académique Internationale, 189.
- University of California, Mexican collection, 4.
- University of Pennsylvania, Spanish American collection, 2.
- Utah, adaptation of New England organizations, 238.
- Utley, Samuel, Councillor, 182; gift, 207.

V

- Van Buren, Martin, note to Burr, 127.
 Van der Gucht, Gerard, engraver, 214.
 Vanderlyn, John, portraits by, 112.
 Varnum, James M., letter to Burr, 76.
 Vega, Garcilaso de la, *el Inca*, 13.
 Vegetation, influence on migration, 36.
 Viñaza, Cipriano M. y M., *conde de la*, 13.
 Virginia, decline of, 232; struggle over ratification, 296.

W

- Wadsworth, Jeremiah, letter to Burr, 81.
 Wadsworth Athenaeum, textbook collection, 188.
 Wagner, Henry E., Spanish American collector, 4.
 Warren, Sir John B., 126.
 Washburn, Charles F., Fund, 202.
 Washburn, Charles G., obituaries of S. A. Green, 16, T. Roosevelt, 24; Councillor, 182; gifts, 207, 210.
 Washington, Bushrod, 299.
 Washington, George, 78; book-plate, 6; on fertility of Ohio, 37; manuscript, 43; Weems' Life of, 47; letter to Mrs. Prevost, 88; on ratification of Constitution, 297, 307, 308, 310.
 Water highways, 35, 40.
 Waterston, Robert C., gifts, 206, 207.
 Webster, Daniel, 292.
 Weeden, William B., gift, 207.
 Weems, Mason L., successful biographer, 47.
 Wendell, Abraham, 244, 245, 247.
 Wendell, Barrett, A. Gentlewoman of Boston, 1742-1805, 242.
 Wendell, Betsy, 261, 262, 263, 267.
 Wendell, Catherine, A Gentlewoman of Boston, 1742-1805, 242-293.
 Wendell, Daniel [1], 262, 285, 287.
 Wendell, Daniel [2], 285.
 Wendell, Dorothy, (Mrs. Richard Skinner), 244, 247, 269, 273, 274, 276, 285.

- Wendell, Edmund, 244, 246, 247, 252, 254-256, 259, 261-263, 268-270, 272, 273, 276, 280.
 Wendell, Mrs. Elizabeth (Quincy), 243; portrait, 268.
 Wendell, Elizabeth (Mrs. Solomon Davis), 244, 248, 251, 256, 258, 259, 268, 269.
 Wendell, George, 282, 284.
 Wendell, Henry, 244, 246, 247.
 Wendell, John [1], 243-248, 267, 269, 282.
 Wendell, John [2], 244-293.
 Wendell, John [3], 263, 287.
 Wendell, Josiah, 244, 246, 247.
 Wendell, Mrs. Mercy (Skinner), 244.
 Wendell, Oliver, 284.
 Wendell, Sally, (Mrs. Edward Sargent), 254, 257, 263, 270.
 Wendell, Sarah, 245, 248, 269, 271.
 Wendell, Thomas, 245, 247, 248, 268.
 Wentworth, Benning, 245.
 Wentworth, John, 245.
 Wentworth, Joshua, 287.
 Wentworth, Sarah (Mrs. John Wendell), 245, 252.
 West Indies, newspapers acquired, 15.
 "Western Monitor," Lexington, files acquired, 217.
 White, Andrew D., death announced, 15; obituary, 27.
 Whitin, Albert H., gift, 207.
 Whitney, James L., Fund, 202; legacy, 207.
 Wigley, Mrs. F. Spencer, gift, 15, 213.
 Wilkinson, James, 44, 53; letter to Burr, 123.
 Willard, Samuel, engraving of, 214.
 Willett, Marinus, letter to Burr, 112; portrait of, 112.
 Winship, George P., on Spanish American collections, 2; Councilor, 183.
 Woodbury, John, nominating committee, 182; life membership, 201.
 Woods, Henry E., death announced, 185; obituary, 196.
 Woodward, Samuel B., Treasurer, 183, and report, 199; gift, 207.
 Wooster, David, 45, 52; letters to, 59, 67, 69, 73, 74; letter to H. McNeil, 68.
 Wooster, Thomas, 92.

Worcester Historical Society, new name, 186.	Y
Worcester Society of Antiquity, name changed, 186.	Yale University, Latin American collection, 3, 11; biographical records, 218.
Wyeth, Nat, 237.	Yeaton, 250.

